

BRITISH HISTORY IN PERSPECTIVE

Kathryn Hurlock

Britain, Ireland & the Crusades, c. 1000–1300

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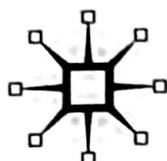
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Britain, Ireland and the Crusades, c.1000–1300

KATHRYN HURLOCK

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For Andy

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Preface

This book is a study of the impact of the crusades on Britain and Ireland in the first two centuries of the crusading movement. The crusades themselves are by far one of the most-studied topics of medieval history, with several volumes, scholarly and otherwise, appearing each year. However, little has been published on the link between the crusades and Britain and Ireland. A brief flurry of interest in the late 1980s saw the production of three monographs discussing England and Scotland, and 2011 saw the first full-length treatment of Wales, but overall, most of the work published in this field has been confined to specialist articles or subject to uncritical treatment for the benefit of popular readership. *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades* will hopefully fill this gap by bringing the themes of crusading in Britain and Ireland together for a new audience, highlighting key themes and areas of inquiry, and putting the history of crusading into a British perspective.

Acknowledgements

All authors incur the debt of many people when undertaking their work. In particular, I would like to thank Prof. David Carpenter, Prof. Phillipp Schofield and Dr Björn Weiler for suggesting wider comparative work on the crusades, particularly those including Ireland (which is the most-neglected country considered); the audience at Cardiff University, who asked some fruitful questions on Irish participation in crusading and provided food for thought; and Annalee C. Rejhon for providing me with a copy of Ronald Walpole's unpublished article on the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle. I am also grateful to Prof. Janet Burton, Dr Helen Nicholson and Dr Karen Stöber for comments and useful information, Dr Paul Oldfield and our third-year students for allowing me to test some of my theories, and Dr Rosamund Oates for providing helpful distraction.

Lastly, and most importantly, I would like to thank my husband, Dr Andrew Abram, for reading drafts of this work, offering insightful feedback and helping me find information and sources, and for his unending encouragement, good humour and love. This work is dedicated to him.

Abbreviations

<i>Annales Cambriae</i>	<i>Annales Cambriæ</i> , John Williams ab Ithel (ed.) (London, 1860)
<i>Annales Monastici</i>	<i>Annales Monastici</i> , H. L. Luard (ed.), 5 vols. (London, 1864–69)
ANS	Anglo-Norman Studies
ASC	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles</i> , Michael Swanton (trans. and ed.) (London, 2000)
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III to Edward I</i> , 18 vols. (London, HMSO 1892–1938)
CDRI	<i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office</i> , H. S. Sweetman (ed.), 5 vols. (London, 1875–86)
CPReg.	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters</i> , Vol. I, A.D. 1198–1304 W. H. Bliss (ed.) (London, 1893)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III and Edward I</i> , 10 vols. (London, HMSO 1895–1971)
CRR	<i>Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I and John preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 6 vols. (London, 1923–33)
<i>B. Saes.</i>	<i>Brenhinedd y Saesson, or the Kings of the Saxons</i> , Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.) (Cardiff, 1971)

<i>BT. Pen.</i>	<i>Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS 20 Version</i> , Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.) (Cardiff, 1952)
<i>BT. RBH.</i>	<i>Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version</i> Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.) (Cardiff, 1995)
<i>De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi</i>	<i>The Conquest of Lisbon: De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi</i> , Charles Wendell David (ed. and trans.) and Jonathan Phillips (Chichester, 2001)
EHR	English Historical Review
<i>Gesta Regis</i>	<i>Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis</i> , William Stubbs (ed.), 2 vols. (London, 1867)
Gransden, <i>HW</i>	Antonia Gransden, <i>Historical Writing in England I: c. 500 to c.1307</i> (London, 1996)
Hurlock, <i>Wales</i>	<i>Wales and the Crusades, 1095–1291</i> (Cardiff, 2011)
<i>Itin. Per.</i>	<i>The Chronicles of the Third Crusade: The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi</i> , Helen Nicholson (trans.) (Aldershot, 2005)
<i>Itin. Kam.</i>	Giraldi Cambrensis, <i>Opera VI: Itinerarium Kambriae</i> , James F. Dimock (ed.) (London, 1868)
JMH	Journal of Medieval History
Lloyd, <i>English Society</i>	Simon Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307</i> (Oxford, 1988)
MacQuarrie, <i>Scotland</i>	Alan MacQuarrie, <i>Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1560</i> (Edinburgh, 1988)
MP, <i>CM</i>	Matthew Paris, <i>Chronica Majora</i> Henry Richards Luard (ed.), 7 vols. (London, 1872–84)
MPRS	Paul Craig Ferguson, <i>Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: legates, nuncios and judges delegate, 1125–1286</i> (Edinburgh, 1997)
MRHE	D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, <i>Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales</i> (London, 1953)

- MRHI* Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (London, 1998)
- Philip de Thame Philip de Thame, *The Knights Hospitallers in England: Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova, for 1338*, Lambert B. Larking (ed.) (London, 1857)
- RD* *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the time of King Richard the First*, John T. Appleby (ed. and trans.) (London, 1963)
- Registrum de Kilmainham* *Registrum de Kilmainham: Register of the Chapter Acts of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in Ireland, 1326–1339*, C. McNeill (ed.) (Dublin, 1943)
- Siedschlag, *EP* Beatrice N. Siedschlag, *English Participants in the Crusades, 1150–1220* PhD, Bryn Mawr (Privately Printed, 1939)
- TCE* Thirteenth Century England
- Thorpe, *Journey* Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales*, Lewis Thorpe (trans.) (London, 1978)
- Tyerman, *England* Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988)
- WM, Gesta* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, M. Winterbottom (eds.), 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998–99)

Chronology

1009	Sack of the Holy Sepulchre
1066	Conquest of England by William, Duke of Normandy
1093	Death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of Deheubarth
1095	(27 November) Preaching of the First Crusade at Clermont
1096–1102	First Crusade
1096	Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, mortgages his duchy to William Rufus
1099	(15 July) The crusaders capture Jerusalem
1100	Baldwin of Boulogne is crowned first King of Jerusalem
1113	First Papal privilege granted to the Hospitallers
1120	Foundation of the Knights Templar
1128	Visit of Hugh de Payens, Master of the Templars, to England and Scotland
1135–54	Civil War in England
1137	Earliest grant to the Templars in England at Cressing (Essex), by Queen Matilda
1143	Robert de Ketton, and English theologian, completes his translation of the Koran into Latin
1144	(24–26 December) Edessa falls to Zengi
1145	(December) Pope Eugenius III declares the Second Crusade in the papal bull <i>Quantum praedecessores</i>
1147–49	Second Crusade; crusading is also authorised by Eugenius III in Spain and on the frontiers of north-eastern Europe
1147	(May) Crusaders depart from Dartmouth (24 October) Conquest of Lisbon by the crusaders

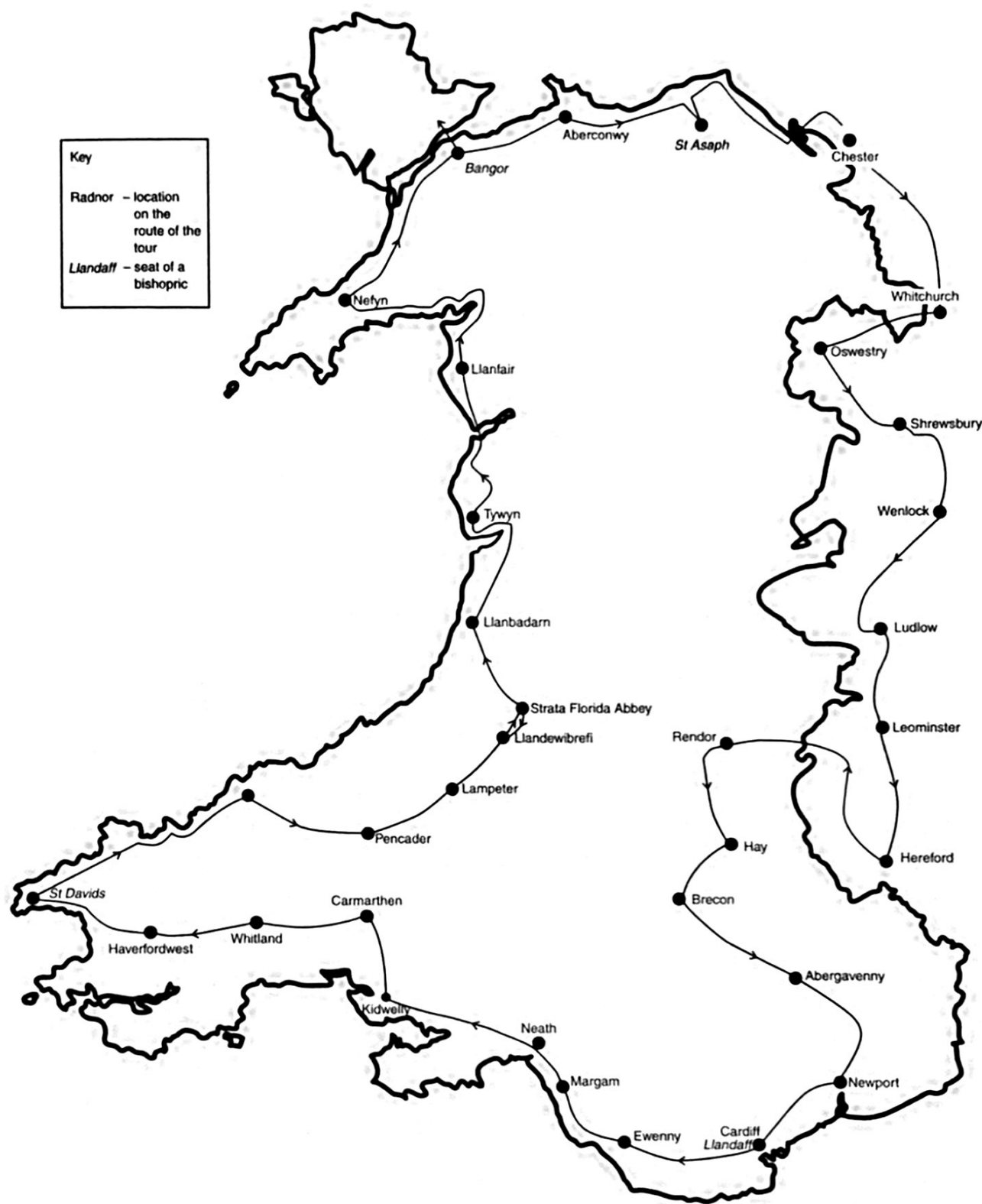
- 1148 (24–28 July) The Second Crusade ends in failure when the crusader army withdraws from the city of Damascus
- 1155 Issue of the papal bull, *Laudabiliter*, by Pope Adrian IV
- 1166 Income tax for the Holy Land in England
- 1169 Invasion and partial conquest of Ireland
- 1175 Saladin begins his advance towards the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
- 1185 (January) Visit of the Patriarch Heraclius to England
Enquiry into the English possessions of the Templars
Aid for the Holy Land in England
- 1187 (4 July) Battle of Hattin
(2 October) Jerusalem falls to Saladin
(29 October) Pope Gregory VII proclaims the Third Crusade
- 1188 (11 February) Council of Geddington formally launches the Third Crusade in England
Six-week preaching tour of Wales and the Welsh March by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury
Saladin Tithe collected from England
- 1189 (July) Death of Henry II and end of the personal relationship between the English crown and the prince of Deheubarth
(December) Quitclaim of Canterbury signed, in which Scotland's independence from England was formally recognised
- 1189–92 Third Crusade led by Richard I and Philip Augustus of France
- 1190 Richard I departs on crusade
Massacre of the Jews in England
- 1191 (June) Richard I captures Cyprus
(12 July) Richard I and Philip Augustus secure the surrender of Acre, which becomes the capital of the Latin kingdom
- 1192 (2 September) End of the Third Crusade; Richard I is captured on his journey home
- 1194 (February) Ransom to secure Richard I's release from captivity is paid
- 1198 (January) Innocent III becomes pope
(August) Declaration of the Fourth Crusade
- 1199 First papal crusade tax on the church

- 1204 Fourth Crusade and the capture of Constantintople
- 1209–29 Albigensian Crusade
- 1212 (16 July) Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, Spain
- 1213 (April) Pope Innocent III declares the Fifth Crusade
The bishops of Glasgow and St Andrews ordered to preach the Cross in Scotland
(May) King John submits to the pope
- 1215 (4 March) King John takes the Cross
(November) Fourth Lateran Council, presided over by Innocent III, deals with the organisation of the Fifth Crusade; the constitution *Ad liberandam* allows regular taxation of the Church for crusading
- 1215–17 Rebellion against King John and Civil War in England
- 1216 Henry III takes the Cross for the first time
- 1217–29 Fifth Crusade to Egypt
- 1218 Siege of Damietta
- 1219 (November) The crusaders capture Damietta
- 1227 Henry III achieves full majority
- 1234–35 Friars take on the role of crusade preachers
- 1240 Crusade of Richard, Earl of Cornwall
- 1244 (11 July–23 Aug) Fall of Jerusalem
- 1250 (6 March) Henry III takes the Cross for the second time
- 1254 Henry III accepts the Sicilian throne on behalf of his son, Edmund
- 1255 Preaching of the Sicilian Crusade in England
- 1263–65 Civil War between Henry III and his barons
- 1263 The pope begins to address his crusade bulls to the bishop of St Davids
- 1264 (14 May) Battle of Lewes
- 1265 (4 August) Battle of Evesham and the death of Simon de Montfort
- 1266 Dictum of Kenilworth
- 1268 Lord Edward takes the Cross
- 1270–72 Crusade of the Lord Edward
- 1274 Edward I returns to England
- 1282 Final war and conquest of Wales by Edward I
- 1286 Death of Alexander III of Scotland
- 1287 Edward I takes the Cross for the second time
- 1290 Otto of Grandison goes on crusade to the East
(September) Death of the Maid of Norway; dispute in Scotland over the succession

- 1291 (18 May) Fall of Acre
- 1296–1306 First Scottish war of Independence
- 1300 English soldiers adopt the sign of the Cross in the
Annandale conflict against the Scots
- 1307–14 Suppression of the Templars



Map 1 Medieval Britain and Ireland



Map 2 The 1188 recruitment tour of Wales and the Welsh March



Map 3 Hospitaller Houses in Britain and Ireland



Map 4 Templar Houses in Britain and Ireland

Introduction

Crusading was a popular and widespread activity in the Middle Ages. Intended to appeal to the military elite who could fight on behalf of Christianity, crusading attracted a wide swathe of the European population, from emperors and kings to tanners and prostitutes. Not everyone who made a crusading vow could or would take part, but the effects of the crusades touched more than simply those who went on crusade. Recruitment efforts were felt by people who never took the Cross, as the message of helping fellow Christians under threat was preached from market crosses and church pulpits. Funding the crusades, something that became more centralised as time went on, touched non-crusaders, as general taxes, levies on wool and movables, and levies on church income were gathered to pay for those who went on crusade. Returning crusaders brought information back from their adventures, whether the details of battles or knowledge of building techniques. Many monastic scribes who never left the confines of their religious houses, let alone went to the Holy Land, were well informed on crusading events and included them in their histories, while even those living in the remotest parts of Britain and Ireland might have come into contact with land and property owned by one of the military orders. In some cases, these orders played a part in local religious life, administering the sacrament or providing hospitality and care for the sick.

Although the number of crusaders was only a small percentage of the population, the effects of the crusades were felt in every part in Europe. Crusading was important even for those who never took part, as it had a role to play in domestic life. Crusading rhetoric was used in the thirteenth-century civil wars of England and in the conflict

between England and her immediate neighbours, while the military orders were used to settle volatile areas in the newly conquered parts of Britain and Ireland. They fulfilled many administrative roles for the English crown, particularly in Ireland, and by virtue of this were involved in English politics. The difficult relationship between England and the other parts of Britain and Ireland meant that crusading was potentially a way to remove troublemakers by encouraging them to go on crusade. On the other hand, it was also this troubled relationship that deterred many from going, as staying at home to defend rights and properties was more important for some than doing the same in the Holy Land. Crusading might then factor in to the lives of countries far removed from the European mainstream and have an impact on those who would never leave their homes.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the location of these crusades became ever more widespread and came to include Spain, North East Europe, Italy and the Latin Empire of Constantinople. However, for the most part, these crusades were not popular in Britain and Ireland, and the Holy Land continued to exert the strongest pull, perhaps because people in Britain and Ireland did not have to face enemies of Christianity within or along their own borders, unlike those in France, Spain, Hungary and Scandinavia, where Muslims or pagans lived in near proximity. In these areas there was perhaps a broader appreciation of what a crusade actually was, how it could be employed, and what it might achieve, and as a result there may have been an increased willingness to engage with a wider selection of crusading 'areas' than there was among the people from Britain and Ireland. Thus, although crusaders from England could be found fighting against the heretics of southern France, for the most part it was the Jerusalem crusade that attracted the most attention and that this book will focus on.

The impact of the crusades on the West has long been recognised, though the first comprehensive study of it did not appear until 1989 in the edited collection *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*. This work tackled many of the themes that are considered in studies focusing on individual countries, such as financing, propaganda, literature and Western ideas about crusading. However, there are very few references to Britain and Ireland, and key areas such as participation, the military orders and political (domestic) crusading were not discussed.

Interest in the role of England in the crusades predated this work by some time. In 1850 James Cruickshank Dansey published *The English*

Crusaders, a list of those who took the Cross from England. A lavish work clearly aimed at proving a crusading past for much of England's elite, each entry was followed by a list of noble houses descended from the crusader mentioned. Dansey aimed to 'rescue from oblivion' the names of forgotten crusaders, but unfortunately, the work is neither scholarly nor convincing. It was some time before lists of participants were researched in a critical way. Beatrice Siedschlag's 1939 doctoral thesis, completed at Bryn Mawr College, provided some very detailed research on English crusaders from 1150 to 1220, while in 1975 Bruce Beebe's article on the English barons of the 1270 crusade listed more. James M. Powell's work on the Fifth Crusade, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (1987), also catalogues participants from England in its extensive appendices.¹

The first studies to put these works into the context of wider English history were not published until 1988, when two seminal works on English crusading appeared. Christopher Tyerman's *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* and Simon Lloyd's *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* appeared within a month of each other.² Tyerman's book discussed many of the influences the crusades had on England, though it omitted discussion of the military orders, while Lloyd largely concentrated on the crusade of 1270. Lloyd went on to publish a series of articles connected with this work that looked at various themes in more detail, such as the career of William Longespee, political crusades of the thirteenth century, and the impact of crusading on the land market in England. In 2005 Michael Lower published a study of the Baron's Crusade to the Latin Empire in 1240, which included information on the contribution of Richard of Cornwall and the barons of England to crusading in the Holy Land. As this was a focused study, however, it did not place this crusade in a wider context regarding English crusading history.³

Specialists and those working on English history more generally have published articles on various aspects of the crusades over the last one hundred years. Unsurprisingly, given his status, many of these focused on the role of Richard I, and most biographies of the king contain a discussion of his contribution; the impact of his absence on England has also been the focus of detailed study in J. T. Appleby's *England without Richard* (1965).⁴ The crusading plans of Henry III have been the focus of several chapters in wider works. Various aspects of crusade organisation in England have also been examined, such as in J. H. Round's brief article 'The Saladin Tithe' (1916) on

the role of crusade taxation. John Maddicott discussed this latter topic in relation to the development of Parliament at the end of the thirteenth century in a 1988 article.⁵

In recent years, however, studies on groups not usually associated with the crusades have appeared as part of a move towards examining medieval social history and the history of women and the poor. Michael Evans's article 'Poor and Non-Combatant Crusaders' (1996) and Nicholas Orme's 'Cornwall and the Third Crusade' (2005) showed that Holy Land crusades attracted participants from non-militarised groups, including women. Both articles provide fascinating details and analysis, though their geographical restrictions mean that there is still scope for looking at other areas of England.⁶

Alan MacQuarrie is undoubtedly the foremost authority on the crusades in a Scottish context. His doctoral thesis, published as *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (1988), is the standard work on Scotland. While covering a wide spread of ideas, it lacks in the depth of analysis for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, largely due to the chronological spread of the study.⁷ He also published articles on the Holy War in Scotland, crusading facts and legends, and referred to the crusade activities of the Bruces of Annandale, but overall this research concentrated on the later medieval period.⁸ No Scottish historian has taken up where MacQuarrie left off, and so many of his conclusions have not been tested against newer scholarship on both crusading and medieval Scottish history. Ireland is the least served of the countries of the British Isles when it comes to crusader studies. Con Costello published an article titled 'Ireland and the Crusades', in 1972, and also a rather uncritical study, *Ireland and the Holy Land* (1983), which devoted a chapter to the era of the crusades.⁹ There are several works relating to the military orders (of which more below), but overall, Irish works tend to be short articles or populist works which do not tackle the crusades in any depth or detail.

The historiography of Welsh links to the crusading movement has been, until recently, very limited. There was one early work, the Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones's *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement* (1912), which devoted a chapter to the crusades; it is an interesting and informative book, but there are errors and misinterpretations that make some passages difficult.¹⁰ The Hospitallers in Wales were discussed by William Rees's work of 1947, and the 1188 recruitment tour of Wales and the March led by the archbishop of Canterbury was the focus of articles by Huw Pryce (1987) and Peter Edbury (1996).¹¹

In recent years, however, Wales had received treatment in its own right in Kathryn Hurlock's *Wales and the Crusades, 1095–1291* (2011) and in several articles by the same author.¹²

One aspect of the crusades that has been covered in a British and Irish context is that of the military orders, though not as comprehensively as it has for elsewhere in Europe. Many of the works are also outdated or contain significant omissions. This is something that Helen Nicholson is starting to redress in her works, and her articles on the military orders in royal service in Ireland (2003), international mobility (2006) and the Hospitaller house at Aconbury (2006) are particularly relevant here.¹³ There are several studies of specific Templar properties, such as those by Eileen Gooder on Temple Balsall and the edited collection *The Temple Church in London* (2010), which works on set areas, such as Yorkshire, analysed by Janet Burton in (1991), and articles on Templar finance, notably the 1925 article by A. Sandys, though this has been updated.¹⁴ In addition, there is a modern general study on the Templars in Britain and Ireland by Evelyn Lord, a readable and accessible account aimed at a more general readership that largely covers areas discussed in earlier works. The few modern studies on the Hospitallers in England focus on the later medieval period, while those older works that discuss the activities of this order before 1300 tend to be limited in scope.¹⁵

Wales is better served by William Rees's *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border* (1947); useful maps and appendices render this a valuable work, though current scholarship on the order is clearly lacking. A chapter in Hurlock's *Wales and the Crusades* has considered new themes, such as patronage and ethnicity.¹⁶ Older still than Rees's work on Wales is the first comprehensive survey of the Templars in Ireland, Herbert Wood's 1906/07 article 'The Templars in Ireland'.¹⁷ Anthony MacDermott surveyed the Hospitallers in 1956–57, and there have been several localised studies, such as those on the Hospitallers in Kildare (1911) and the Templars in south-east Ireland (1980).¹⁸ Scotland is the least-studied province of the English Langue. The only comprehensive survey of the Hospitallers in Scotland, *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland* (1983), is detailed but concentrates on the period after 1300.¹⁹ The Templars in Scotland are included in Lord's general survey of Britain and in works on monasticism in general that cover Scotland, notably David Easson's *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland* (1957), but scholarly works are limited and are swamped by the mass

of popular publications of Templar conspiracy theories based around Rosslyn Chapel.²⁰

There is also much to be gained from considering the approach taken to other countries or specific areas in crusade studies, as many parts of Europe have benefited from more widespread study in recent years. There are still, however, many aspects of the impact of the crusades on Europe as a whole which have not been looked at, so this is probably an area of crusade historiography which is set to expand. The impact of the crusades in North East Europe was first studied in depth by Eric Christiansen in *The Northern Crusades* (1980) and, following a gap of some years, has now become the focus of new studies, such as the edited collection *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500* (2001) covering the military orders, literature, and urban life and the crusades in North East Europe, and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt's *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* (2006).²¹ Crusaders and crusading from and within France have been the focus of the works of Caroline Smith in *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (2006) and Laurence Marvin in *The Occitan War* (2008), the most up-to-date scholarly work on the Albigensian crusade.²² Other areas of Europe have also been the subject of recent books and articles: a study on Iberian crusade spirituality has been published by William Purkis (2008), László Veszprémy has looked at the crusade of the Hungarian king Andrew II (2002), and Natalia Nowakowska has examined the link between Poland and the Crusades in the 1490s (2004).²³ However, there are still many areas which have not been considered, both geographically and thematically, and there is great scope for future research.

This book looks at the role of Britain and Ireland in the crusades, and at the impact that the crusade movement had on the religious, political, social and cultural life in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. It concentrates on how people interacted with the crusades – the way in which they were urged to assist the Holy Land (both physically and financially), who chose to go on crusade, and why they were motivated to do so. The use of crusading in disputes within England and between England and her neighbours is analysed. Though English disputes have been studied before, they have not been put in context alongside the conflicts the English crown had with Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The role of the military orders and the impact they had in the areas where they were given lands and other gifts, as well as their role serving the crown or dealing with finance, are studied here too,

in order to show how the military orders, established and supported in order to assist the struggle in the Holy Land, were also involved in the politics of Western Europe. Lastly, this book looks at the impact that the crusades had 'at home', influencing artistic and architectural style, causing lawsuits, stimulating religious benefaction and literary output, sparking violence against Jews and bringing Britain and Ireland into closer contact with Arabic learning.

Frontier Historiography

As the relationship between England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales was often vital in determining responses to the crusades (whether physical or otherwise), it is also worth considering here the historiography of the frontiers between them. Three studies are key here: Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay's 1989 collection *Medieval Frontier Societies* and two works by R. R. Davies, *Conquest and Domination: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100–1300* (1990) and *The First English Empire* (2000).²⁴ Publications on most aspects of frontier and marcher life (in the case of Wales) have appeared in the last 30 years. They are part of a wider European trend, which includes studies such as Daniel Power's *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (2004). Works on the frontier are valuable for understanding the particular circumstances of the knightly classes in these areas and the way in which the more militarised nature of their holdings had an impact on crusading involvement, raising funds and donations to the military orders.

The impact of conquest in Ireland and Wales, as well as the state of Anglo-Scottish relations in Scotland, also has a role to play in the impact of the crusades in Britain and Ireland. Fortunately, the historiography on this area has increased rapidly in the last few decades. General works, such as David Carpenter's *The Struggle for Mastery* (2003), highlight how the meeting of peoples from the four countries of Britain and Ireland led to changes in identity, political life, economics, and religious and social life. Max Liebermann's *The Medieval March of Wales: The Creation and Perception of a Frontier, 1066–1283* (2010) concentrates on the role of the border lords in politics, but most lengthy studies of the Scottish frontier focus on the period after 1300. Goddard H. Orpen's *Ireland under the Normans* (1911) is still the standard introduction to the history of Ireland for

this period, despite its age, but more focused studies in recent years are important for understanding the relationship between Irish and Anglo-Norman in Ireland, and thus the impact of Irish warfare and politics on crusade involvement. In particular, *A New History of Ireland II* provides an excellent collection of articles on all aspects of medieval Irish life.²⁵

One of the problems encountered when researching this topic is the disparate nature of the works which need to be considered – governmental and church documents produced in England, works produced by native groups in Ireland and Wales, the limited range of works from Scotland, papal documents, European chronicles, and documents from the Holy Land itself. The mass of government documents, church records and papal archives shed light on the participation, motivation, tax gathering and other centralised methods behind the crusade movement, while the historical works produced by English monastic writers (such as Matthew Paris) give lively anecdotes about crusaders themselves and also comment on many aspects of the crusades. Welsh chronicles provide a background to the period as well as an indication of the level of interest in the crusades; in Ireland and Scotland, however, those that survive take so little interest in the crusades as to be almost useless. This difference in itself is something worth considering.

Although there are many sources on the crusades themselves, many of them were written by people who were not present in the Holy Land. They also contain stereotypes and focus on certain groups; the French, for example, are the focus in most works on the First Crusade, and crusaders are referred to as ‘Franks’ throughout the medieval period whether they were French or not, a description borrowed from Byzantine and Muslim sources meaning ‘a body composed of various ethnic groups’.²⁶ While these groups are very well covered, such works bring their own problems, as they can overemphasise the contribution of some groups over those of others. Another problem is that sources tend to repeat each other, as source material was shared between writers, and entire sections of earlier works were copied by later writers. Thus, although there seems to be a wealth of information for some of the crusades, much of it is narrow in scope, and only a few works deal directly with crusading from Britain and Ireland.

Fortunately, many of these sources have been published. Notable for the Third Crusade are the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* (2001) and Ambroise’s *History of the Holy War* (2004).²⁷ Lewis Thorpe’s useful

translation of Gerald of Wales's *Journey through Wales* gives an excellent impression of the process of recruiting for the crusade, though Gerald tended to wander off on tangents and Thorpe's translation is not accurate, so it needs to be read with care. Simon Lloyd's source collection, *The Impact of the Crusades: The Experience of England 1095-1307*, should make material more accessible. Primary sources exist in translation, although they are not exclusively about the crusades, such as the *Patent Rolls*, papal records, and administrative and governmental records from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. These sources often provide information about individual crusaders, taxes for the Holy Land and the impact of the crusades on landholding.

Pilgrimage

One of the motivating forces behind the crusades was the tradition of pilgrimage that existed across Europe. A pilgrimage was a journey to a holy site undertaken in return for spiritual rewards; these might be remission of sins or assistance from a saint whose shrine was the focus of pilgrimage in the expectation that they would intercede with God on the pilgrim's behalf. There were numerous international, national and local pilgrim sites across Europe (such as Canterbury and Walsingham in England and St David's in Wales), but the most important (ahead of Rome and Santiago de la Compostela) was Jerusalem, and thus it afforded the greatest spiritual benefits. The Holy Land as a whole was particularly favoured as a pilgrimage destination because of the range and importance of holy sites it offered. Jerusalem was the site where Christ had been crucified, entombed and resurrected, while at Mount Sidon the site of the Last Supper could be venerated.

The lure of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage centre went through varying fortunes in the early medieval period as theologians debated how important the Holy City was to the idea of pilgrimage. When Jerusalem was under Muslim rulership, as it was for most of the period from 614 to 1099, it was not seen as having much relevance to contemporary Christian life.²⁸ The debates of theologians were, however, of limited interest to the majority of Christians, and for them the Holy City retained its attractiveness.²⁹ In the eleventh century, when Europe's monasteries were going through a period of reform, there was a

renewed interest in Jerusalem: relics of Christ and His Passion were brought to Western Europe; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was increasingly emulated; churches were rebuilt and liturgy altered to take into account Jerusalem relics and holy days; and processions were increasingly used.³⁰

By the third decade of the eleventh century, Jerusalem pilgrimages were more popular than they had ever been. The new enthusiasm for pilgrimage was caused, in part, by 'the reopening of the land route to Constantinople'.³¹ For the most part, the pilgrims who took advantage of this new route were nobles and churchmen who would have been accompanied by retinues and servants, though there are references to poorer pilgrims.³² Matthew Gabriele suggests that pilgrimage in the eleventh century was facilitated by the increasing availability of horses (which allowed the nobility to travel together), a more secure Byzantine hold on the Balkans and Asia Minor, and the protection afforded to pilgrims by Islamic authorities.³³ What is different about eleventh-century pilgrimages is that '*groups of elites began to travel together, merging their retinues and pooling their resources in a common cause*'.³⁴ The penitential nature of crusading and its focus on Jerusalem made it an armed version of these journeys, which had allowed the elite of Europe to become accustomed to working in concert to reach the Holy City *en masse*. Thus a tradition of pilgrimage from Britain and Ireland to the Holy Land was an important precursor, as it showed that people from all classes were already accustomed to the idea of a penitential journey to the east and that a wide cross-section of society was interested in undertaking such a mission. In the words of Diana Webb:

Whatever the absolute dimensions of Holy Land pilgrimage in the eleventh century, there can be little doubt that it helped prepare the way psychologically for the extraordinary armed pilgrimage that was launched in 1095 by the preaching of Urban II at the Council of Clermont.³⁵

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem was firmly established in Britain and Ireland long before the First Crusade, and it continued throughout the crusading era, though there were none of the large-scale pilgrimages found in France and Germany, such as the Great German Pilgrimage of 1064–65. Pilgrims undertook their religious journeys voluntarily or as an enforced act of penance (just as they would join the

crusade) and sometimes visited more than one location during their lifetime. There was interest in this expression of religious faith from the very earliest times in Britain and Ireland. Bede (c.672–735), a Northumbrian monk, included descriptions of Jerusalem in his work, while in the 720s an Englishman called Willibald visited Jerusalem.³⁶ From England, Ealdred, Archbishop of York, and Swein, brother of King Harold, went to Jerusalem in the 1050s. So too did Aelred, Bishop of Worcester, accompanied by his household.³⁷ Of course, these were the Anglo-Saxon English elite who were replaced by the Norman incomers after 1066, so it is worth considering whether the Normans themselves had a tradition of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Robert, Duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror and grandfather of the First Crusader Robert Curthose, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1034; he died at Nicaea on the return journey. He had previously paid for Richard of St Vannes, abbot of Grace Dieu Abbey, to go on his own pilgrimage in 1026–27 accompanied by a substantial group of Norman followers.³⁸ Jonathan Sumption claimed that the Normans 'were notoriously the most energetic pilgrims of the eleventh century'.³⁹ Pilgrimage to the Holy Land was thus not a new concept to the Normans who conquered England and became its new military elite.

Pilgrimage from Scotland is harder to trace, as comparatively little is known about secular religious practices in the medieval kingdom. The earliest account of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, *De Locis Sanctis* (c.687), written by Abbot Adomnán of Iona after meeting Arculf, a returning German pilgrim, suggests that there was interest in Jerusalem pilgrimage from the seventh century onwards. John, Bishop of Glasgow, went to Jerusalem in 1122, and John of Würzburg, writing c.1170, included Scots in a list of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre.⁴⁰

The Irish and Welsh also undertook pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land. St Albart promoted the idea of pilgrimage to the Irish in the 890s.⁴¹ Domnall Deisach of Munster 'travelled all the journeys which Christ had travelled', and Ua Cinn Fhaelad, King of the Deisi, went to Jerusalem in the middle of the eleventh century.⁴² International Irish pilgrimage was so well established that the Irish maintained pilgrim hospices abroad, one of which was in Bulgaria. Aubrey Gwynn suggested that there were fewer pilgrimages after 1066 because of the impact of the Norman Conquest on England, through which many Irish pilgrims travelled, but this included all overseas pilgrimage. Welsh pilgrimage to the Holy Land also had

early origins, as the Welsh saints Padarn, David and Teilo went on a pilgrimage there in the sixth century, an activity which might have prompted devote Welshmen to do the same. Welsh pilgrims are recorded in 1144, though it is not clear whether they were truly pilgrims or were actually crusaders. According to the *Sarum Missal*, a ship called the *Le Saint Jacques* sailed from Pembroke with pilgrims destined for Spain and the Holy Land, while in 1233 a Welshman, Gruffydd ap Rhydderch, was given safe conduct to take a ship to the east that may have carried pilgrims.⁴³ Nevertheless, Gerald of Wales, writing in the late twelfth century, claimed that Welsh people 'prefer going to Rome' on their pilgrimages, suggesting that the Holy Land pilgrimage was less popular here than a spiritual journey to the closer destination of Rome.⁴⁴

Throughout Britain and Ireland there was an established pilgrimage tradition, and people were used to the idea of travelling overseas for spiritual reasons. Although named individuals are few, pilgrimages were common and thus often not worthy of recording, as pilgrimage was firmly part of the medieval psyche and it was by no means an unusual activity. We can thus assume that far more people actually went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and elsewhere than the sources suggest. Such activity continued throughout the period of the crusades, as not everyone who wanted to see the Holy Sepulchre wanted to fight. The Sepulchre's popularity, and the underlying pilgrimage motivation for the crusade, meant that those who wanted to undertake a pilgrimage but were also interested in conflict had an added reason for participating in what was now an armed pilgrimage. There is no reason to assume that, in this respect, Britain and Ireland were any different from the rest of Europe.

The Crusades

In the century before the preaching of the First Crusade in November 1095, Europe was not a stable or peaceful place. Prompted by endemic warfare among the nobles, at the end of the tenth century the Peace and Truce of God Movement tried to limit violence by threatening spiritual sanctions. Attempts by several bishops to control civil warfare were complemented by Pope Gregory VII's decision in 1074 to call for armed action against the enemies of the Church. Thus when Urban made his appeal in 1095, the idea of papal or church-directed

warfare was not unusual. It would have been a familiar concept to the Normans, for example, who settled in England after 1066, as Pope Alexander II had backed William of Normandy's invasion of England and given him the papal banner to carry into battle.⁴⁵ These changes coincided with the papal reform movement of the eleventh century, in which the papacy sought to reform religious life and purify European society; the creation of an army of fighters who were working for the Christian faith was essentially the physical manifestation of these aims.

The First Crusade was called by Pope Urban II at the end of an otherwise ordinary church council held at Clermont in November 1095. His appeal was more successful than he could have predicted, not because it was a novel idea, but precisely because it tapped into beliefs and practices prevalent in late-eleventh-century Europe. Christian-Muslim conflict was already active on the Iberian Peninsula, and there were Norman mercenaries fighting in the East on behalf of the Byzantine Emperor, so the idea of fighting in the East, or against Muslims, was nothing new. The organisation of large numbers of nobles into groups had become more familiar due to the increased interest in mass pilgrimage to the East in the eleventh century, and the journey to Jerusalem was, as a whole, a potent symbol that drew people from all ranks.⁴⁶ Urban II also offered spiritual rewards for joining the crusade, played on the fears of his audience about sin and the afterlife, and called on their loyalty to their co-religionists in the East in order to move them to action.⁴⁷ The First Crusade, composed of several heavily armed groups as well as pilgrims and non-combatants, who set out from Europe at various times from 1096 onwards, marched overland to the Holy Land via Constantinople. After taking Nicaea (1097) and Antioch (1098), part of the crusading army besieged Jerusalem.⁴⁸ They took the Holy City, but at a cost: the army had lost many of its men in battles to reach that point, and desertion, famine and disease had all taken a toll. Of the many thousands who left Europe to join the crusade, few made it to the walls of Jerusalem, and fewer still chose to stay once the city was taken.⁴⁹ Thus although the First Crusade had not been launched with the purpose of starting a new movement of papally directed warfare, the need to defend the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the crusader states of Antioch, Edessa and Tyre meant that a steady stream of reinforcements would have to be sent from Western Europe to bolster the Latin Christian presence there.

In the 50 years following the Council of Clermont, this largely meant small crusading expeditions, such as the crusade of Sigurd I of Norway (1107–10).⁵⁰ Occasionally a disaster in the East, such as the Battle of the Field of Blood (1119), would prompt more crusaders to go to the assistance of their co-religionists, but there was no papally led effort to launch another pan-European venture. This changed with the fall of Edessa in 1144 to the Muslim leader Zengi; the resulting Second Crusade, launched by Eugenius III, led by Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, had no success in the Holy Land and sparked criticism in Western Europe.⁵¹ At the same time, a crusade had been launched in Eastern Europe against the pagans, but with no success; more fruitful was the attack on Lisbon (1147) by seafaring crusaders on their way to the Holy Land, which succeeded in taking the city and opened up Portugal for Christian expansion.⁵²

Up until 1187, the emphasis in crusading was on defending the crusading states that had been established in the wake of the First Crusade. The rise of the Muslim leader Saladin changed all this. His victory over the Christian army at Hattin (July 1187) and subsequent successes in taking Acre and Jerusalem itself prompted calls for another large-scale crusade to win back Jerusalem.⁵³ The Third Crusade attracted Richard I of England, Phillip Augustus of France and Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, and with them came many leading nobles Europe who took part in the service of their rulers. Despite the outrage at the loss of Jerusalem and the military prowess of Richard I, the crusade did not succeed in its goal of retaking the city from Saladin.⁵⁴ It did, however, secure those lands the Christians still had in the East.

When Innocent III became Pope in 1198, the crusading movement changed once again, as Innocent took control of recruitment and organisation. The last two major crusades, despite their exalted leadership, had ended in failure. With this in mind, he appealed to the nobles of Europe rather than more specifically to its kings and emperors, something which was reflected in the composition of crusading armies after c.1200. As so much of the land previously won by the crusaders in the Holy Land had been lost, plans were made to march on the Holy Land via Egypt, which would first have to be taken from the Muslims. This was the intention of the Fourth Crusade (1204), which diverted to Constantinople, and the Fifth Crusade (1219–21), which took the Egyptian city of Damietta but ultimately collapsed as the Christian army fell prey to disease, were trapped

and drowned by their enemies, and fought amongst themselves.⁵⁵ Innocent III also launched a crusade against the heretics of southern France in 1208 (the Albigensian Crusade), which primarily drew recruits from among the French nobility.⁵⁶

The crusading armies that departed from Western Europe in the thirteenth century were not the same as the large, socially mixed groups of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Most crusades were smaller affairs under the leadership of an important noble or monarch such as Emperor Frederick II (1128) or Richard, Earl of Cornwall (1240), though Louis IX of France did lead one last large-scale expedition to Egypt (1248–50).⁵⁷ Louis stayed in the East for four years, a move which was almost universally unpopular with his family and his nobles. He launched another crusade in 1270 but died when he reached Tunis. The Lord Edward, son of Henry III, also took part in this crusade and made it to the Holy Land, but it made little real difference.⁵⁸ By the end of the thirteenth century the papacy was preoccupied by too many other concerns (notably political struggles in central Italy) to focus on helping what was left of the crusader possessions. For too long resources had been diverted to other theatres of war: in defence of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, to Eastern Europe, and to southern France.⁵⁹ In 1291, the coastal city of Acre, the last major stronghold in the east, fell to the Mamluks. There was a resurgence of interest in launching a crusade to win back the Holy Land, and numerous nobles took the Cross, but, while some made it across the Mediterranean, the vows of many of the wealthiest and most influential crusaders went unfulfilled.

Chapter 1: Britain and Ireland before and during the Crusades

In the period before and during the crusades, Britain and Ireland were going through a period of significant change. By 1000 the kingdom of England, largely unified long before its smaller neighbours, was ruled by the House of Wessex, which had held sway since 871. Upon the death of Edmund Ironside in 1016, power shifted to the Dane, Sweyn Forkbeard; England was then under Danish rule until the accession of the Anglo-Saxon Edward the Confessor in 1042. When Edward died without direct heirs, in 1066, he was succeeded by Harold of Wessex, who was defeated in October of the same year by William, duke of Normandy. After William's accession, some part of England still resisted his rule, but by the end of the eleventh century England was a largely unified and stable country. Whereas links to Scandinavia had previously been prominent, the arrival of the Normans meant that links across the Channel to France became prominent. The exceptions to this stability were the border areas facing Scotland and Wales that were still subject to land disputes and territorial attacks; but for the most part the kings of England were dominant.

Throughout the twelfth century the English kings extended justice, became more adept at tax gathering, and established a dynasty that, after 1154, stretched from the Scottish border in the north to the Pyrenees in southern France. There was a period of unrest under Stephen (1135–54), when England was plunged into civil war as the king fought for power against the supporters of the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I (1100–1135). But when Henry II came to power in 1154, stability was soon restored, suggesting that the disruption was not as great as has been assumed. In the second half of the twelfth century, England was one of the great powers of Europe, and kings

such as Henry II held power over vast swathes of land. They were also monarchs with an international outlook. Aside from holding lands in France, Henry controlled the duchy of Aquitaine through his marriage to Eleanor and was related to the house of Anjou through his father, Geoffrey of Anjou. In 1128/31, Geoffrey's father Fulk, count of Anjou, became king of Jerusalem, so Henry had a rather close family link to the rulers of the Holy Land. As a result, he was looked on as a potential successor to the throne when its inheritance looked uncertain.¹ Richard I was also international in outlook, spending only six months of his ten-year rule in England. The rest of his time was divided between the crusade, captivity and warfare in France.

Matters changed in 1204 when King John (1199–1216) lost control of Normandy. Losing most of England's continental possessions meant that John had more time to spend on domestic matters. This led to disaffection among his barons (who saw him as heavy-handed and an abuser of power) as well as among churchmen. In 1208 England was placed under interdict and John was excommunicated, a problem that ended when John submitted to the pope in 1213 and made England a papal fief.² His problems were not over though, and in 1215 the barons forced him to sign the Magna Carta, a document that was intended to protect their rights as well as those of freemen, merchants and lesser knights. John repudiated the document (though it was reissued in 1216, 1217, 1225, etc.) and plunged England back into war, a conflict that was only brought to an end after his death in 1216 and the accession of his nine-year-old son, Henry III.³

Henry III (1216–72) was not militarily skilled or ruthless like his father, but he was a very pious king – a fact reflected in his reverence for St Edward and Westminster Abbey as well as his interest in the crusades.⁴ This interest in crusading partially fuelled disaffection among his barons in the 1260s; they rebelled against him and established alternative rule under Simon de Montfort. His son and heir, Edward, however, ably supported Henry, and after the defeat of Simon de Montfort peace was restored. Although the peace was not perfect, it was sufficient for Edward and his brother Edmund to join the crusade of Louis IX in 1270. It was while on crusade, in 1272, that Edward learned that his father had died. As Edward I, he was quick to stamp his authority on England and the rulers of Wales and Scotland, demanding the submission of the Welsh prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd. The prince's refusal sparked a war between Edward and

the prince of Gwynedd. Although this first war did not see all-out conquest by Edward, a second war sparked by Dafydd ap Gruffydd's attack on Hawarden Castle in 1282 brought about the end of Welsh independence.⁵ Edward spent the last years of his reign embroiled in warfare in Scotland, where he was initially asked to arbitrate a succession dispute. He promised that he would help the Holy Land once again, but these wars took up his time and he was in no position to fulfil his new vow.

By the end of the thirteenth century, despite being embroiled in warfare, England was unified and strong. Its identity had changed from one in which the ruling elite was foreign (either Danish or Norman) to one that was firmly English, as the lines between English and Anglo-Norman had become increasingly blurred. Royal control was expanding as the king and his servants developed effective machines for justice and administration. Tighter centralised control, efficient mechanisms for administering across England, and a strong leader meant that spreading the crusade message, recruiting crusaders and funding their activities was arguably easier in England than it was in Scotland, Ireland or Wales.

Scotland was perhaps the second-most powerful part of Britain and Ireland in this period. From c.900 it was ruled by a king of Alba, though there were also kings of Moray, Galloway, Man, the Isles, Argyll and Strathclyde who sometimes sought to claim power. The more powerful kings of Scotland, however, slowly absorbed them, and by the time of the Treaty of Perth (1266) Scotland was able to buy Man and the Isles.⁶ Eleventh-century Scotland enjoyed, for the most part, a period of peace with England. King Macbeth (1040–57) had such a peaceful rule that he was able to enjoy a pilgrimage to Rome, though he was overthrown soon after his return. His successor, Malcolm III, founded a dynasty that ruled Scotland until the death of Alexander III (1249–86).⁷ There were occasional raids into northern England as Malcolm sought to claim lands on behalf of his half-Saxon children, but in 1080 he submitted to the English crown.

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Scotland's relationship alternated between peace and conflict. At the Battle of the Standard (1138), for example, the English defeated the Scottish army led by David I at Northallerton in Yorkshire, while William the Lion sought to take Northumbria after he lost it to Henry II in 1157. William's capture at the Battle of Alnwick (1174), which he fought to try and win back his English earldom, produced strong anti-English

sentiment in Scotland. However, from the reign of David I (1113–24) to that of Alexander III, the Scottish court also enjoyed several periods of favourable relations with England. This allowed the king to expand his authority. Part of this expansion involved the ‘Europeanization’ of Scotland. David I in particular, who spent several years at the English court, was singled out as favouring the Norman French at his court, and he made grants to Anglo-Normans (the Norman settlers in England) and the new international orders of Templars and Hospitallers, as well as other orders such as the Augustinians and Cistercians. He introduced the first royal coinage struck in his name, which helped to move Scotland from a barter-based to a cash economy. David’s decision to embrace European changes reflected his links to England and the continent. In the 1090s he spent some time in exile in England, and his sister married King Henry I in 1100. David became an English magnate – earl of Huntingdon – in right of his wife in c.1113, and he took the Scottish throne with the backing of his brother-in-law.⁸

Under subsequent kings, the governance of Scotland was tightened and the power of the kings increased. Alexander II (r.1214–49) introduced a strong fiscal system and spread royal power into northern and western Scotland. He ended independence in Galloway and made the first moves to bring the Western Isles under Scottish control. During the second half of Alexander III’s reign (r.1249–86), Scotland grew in strength, both politically and economically, and was more stable than it had hitherto been. This factor may have allowed for the participation of some Scottish nobles in the crusade of 1270.⁹ In 1286, however, Alexander’s death left Scotland without a clear ruler, and the last years of the thirteenth century were marred by conflict between rival factions and with Edward I of England for control.

Medieval Ireland was a country of rival kingdoms and Viking enclaves in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick. It was made up of local rulers (*túath*), overkings (*rí túaithe*) and those who claimed to be ‘king of overkings’ (*rí ruirech*), though by c.1000 this system was becoming blurred. Unlike England after 1066, Ireland did not have a feudal system but one of clientage, which was similar but divided men into those who would provide military service and those who worked the lands. The power of those who claimed kingship varied, but it was not as complete as in England or Scotland. Kings could not, for example, enforce justice, though they did collect

church taxes and, at least by the mid-twelfth century, were sufficiently organised and powerful enough to collect secular dues too.¹⁰

From c.1000, the old order in Ireland began to break down. The kingdom of Munster was rising in power under the newcomer Brian Boru, who forced his rival Máel Sechnaill to recognise his control of all Ireland in 1002. He continued to be the most powerful ruler in Ireland. After his death in 1014 he was succeeded by his former enemy, Máel, but after Máel's death in 1022 no other candidate could claim kingship over all of Ireland; this period, up to 1072, was known as one of 'High kings with opposition'. In 1072 Tairdelbach Ua Briain took control as king of Munster and for 14 years stood a powerful figure in Irish politics. On his death, in 1086, his eldest son, Muirchertach, succeeded, though two other sons sought power. During his lifetime Muirchertach Ua Briain was a powerful king, making alliances with Welsh princes and the Norman Montgomery family, contacting the pope and Lanfranc of Canterbury, engaging in Church reform, and taking control of the Isle of Man from c.1095 to 1111. By the time of his death, in 1119, he had arguably changed to outlook of Irish politics by attempting to make himself king of a wider swathe of land in the model of the Anglo-Norman kings, William Rufus and Henry I.

In the 50 years before the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, power shifted to the northern half of the country under the Ua Conchobair dynasty. The weakening of the Ua Briain dynasty in the south and warfare between the two sides weakened Ireland, dividing Munster. During this ongoing conflict, Diarmaid Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, was forced to go into exile by Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair, the newly declared high king of Ireland. In 1166 he fled to Henry II to ask for assistance and returned to Ireland with a force of Normans, predominantly from Wales, under the leadership of Richard FitzGilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke (known as Strongbow).¹¹ Richard married Diarmaid's daughter Aiofe and, on the Irishman's death, assumed kingship. This was a state of affairs Henry II could not tolerate – to have one of his vassals claim the status of kingship was problematic – so in 1171 he set sail for Ireland and received the homage of the new lords of Ireland.

For the rest of the medieval period (and beyond), Ireland was subject to piecemeal conquest by English incomers. After Henry II took overlordship of Ireland, these conquests were often backed with royal armies, though they were by no means universally successful, and there were periods of resurgence when the native Irish succeeded

in regaining lands. The period after 1169 was thus one of ongoing Hiberno-English warfare and a struggle for control as the English crown sought to impose its suzerainty over the Irish. After the loss of Normandy, King John was able to expend more energy in Ireland, visiting in 1210 and helping to secure power in the country.¹²

The conquest of 1169 and the shift in governance and landholding from native Irish to settlers brought Ireland into greater contact with the affairs of England and some parts of the continent. Ireland had never been isolated as such, as there was a long tradition of Irish influences in Europe and vice versa, but before 1169 people in Ireland had tended to look more to Scotland and the Irish Sea world. After this time, with English governance and settlers with estates in England, Wales and Normandy, large parts of Ireland were brought into greater contact with events on the continent. The settlers in Ireland built new castles and established their own lordships, and established new towns and monasteries, all of which brought the newly settled parts of Ireland into greater contact with continental norms.

The conquest and settlement of Ireland appeared more successful than it was, as large tracts of land were still under the control of powerful native leaders and, in reality, the English influence was only strong in the area around Dublin. Thirty years after the conquest there was no centralised authority in Ireland, government in Dublin was comparatively weak, and there were none of the mechanisms for royal governance found in England. All of this meant that organising and recruiting for a crusade would be potentially problematic. In the thirteenth century, some of these problems were rectified as methods used in England – sheriffs, coroners and county courts – and further parts of Ireland were conquered, but even then Ireland was never anglicised and some parts were never subdued.¹³

Wales was similar to Ireland in terms of its rule by rival dynasties. In c.1000, Wales was made up of four kingdoms: Gwynedd, Deheubarth, Morgannwg (Glamorgan) and Powys. There was rivalry between these lands, and within them, for power over large parts of Wales, but there was nothing like the order of high kings and lesser kings that existed in Ireland. Attempts were made by several rulers to expand control beyond the bounds of their original kingdoms from the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century, but successes were limited and never sustainable. The Anglo-Saxon kings of England sought control over Wales not through actual conquest but by exercising suzerainty over Welsh leaders.¹⁴

This changed with the coming of the Normans, as they sought to conquer parts of Wales and part of their post-1066 expansion. The marcher lordships were set up along the Anglo-Welsh border by 1071 to create stability, and from here adventurous Normans were able to move into Wales the following year. In north Wales Robert of Rhuddlan (d.1093) conquered most of the land east of the River Conwy, while in the south the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr at the hands of the Normans in 1093 brought to an end independent kingship in Deheubarth. Parts of Gwent and Morgannwg were overrun and, though some of these losses were reversed, many lordships were established under Norman overlords that were to survive throughout the medieval period.

Henry led two successful campaigns into Wales (in 1114 and 1121) and settled large parts of the country by giving land to Anglo-Norman magnates and inviting the Flemings to settle in Pembrokeshire. Under Stephen, however, largely thanks to civil war, Welsh leaders were able to win back some of this territory.¹⁵ Henry II tried to make further forays into Wales in 1157 and 1165 but had no success. He ultimately made peace with the ruler of Deheubarth, Rhys ap Gruffydd (the Lord Rhys), appointing him Justiciar of South Wales. This friendship perhaps helped to facilitate the tour of Wales in 1188 that was intended to recruit fighters for the crusade. With Rhys's death from the plague in 1197, the stability of Deheubarth finally collapsed, and in the thirteenth century the principality was no longer the power it had once been.¹⁶

Gwynedd, on the other hand, was rising in power. It had grown in strength from 1135, but under Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, who held power by 1200, Gwynedd rose to pre-eminence in Wales and, despite defeats by King John in 1212, developed strong links with England, first through John's illegitimate daughter Joan (who married Llywelyn) and then through friendly relations with the earldom of Chester. The principality also arguably developed a more European outlook, as the prince adopted European ideas and sought to deal directly with the king of France and the pope.¹⁷ By the time of his death, in 1240, he held sway over much of Wales. Under Llywelyn's successors (his son Dafydd and grandson Llywelyn), Gwynedd continued to grow in power to the extent that Llywelyn ap Gruffydd called himself 'Prince of Wales' in 1258, claiming superiority over the other Welsh rulers. He had been successful in forcing Henry III to favourable terms in the Treaty of Montgomery (1267), and for most of his rule he was

strong enough to maintain favourable relations with England.¹⁸ This all changed with the accession of Edward I. When Llywelyn ap Gruffydd refused to do homage to the king for Wales in December 1274, Edward invaded north Wales and defeated the prince. When the Welsh princes rebelled again in 1282, Edward invaded for a final time and ended Welsh independence.

The Church in Britain and Ireland

The period c.1000–1300 was one of great Church reform, not just in Britain and Ireland but also across Europe. The need for this reform was one of the justifications given for the invasion of England in 1066, as well as that of Ireland and Wales, even though the process had already begun when the conquerors arrived. They did, however, accelerate the process significantly under the supervision of two successive archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc and Anselm. William I supported this reform both because he was a Christian king and because a reformed church populated by continental personnel might be more loyal to the conqueror and his heirs. Although the church was supposed to be free from secular control, and tension often arose, the relationship between the king and his archbishops and bishops was close, church officials acted as advisors, and tax gatherers and were often vocal in supporting the actions of the king. These were factors that would prove useful in the business of the Cross.

Scotland's Church was also reformed in this period. Under David I new religious orders were introduced to Scotland, notably the Templars and Hospitallers, and the see of Glasgow was restored as part of David's efforts to free the Scottish church from the claims of the archbishopric of York. Under him all Scottish sees bar Galloway denied the authority of the English church, removing the Scots' church from its authority. These changes were part of wider reform under the king known as the 'Davidian Revolution', but it was for the religious changes that David's reign stood out.¹⁹ In 1218 the Scottish church received confirmation of its liberties, and the claims of Canterbury were finally dropped. Ecclesiastical independence meant that the Scottish bishops dealt directly with Rome and that, when it came to crusade organisation, they were separate from the plans of the English province.²⁰

Although the Irish Church was perceived as corrupt and in need of reform by outsiders, it too was reforming in this period, albeit at a slower pace. The Irish Church itself was independent from Canterbury, but the Ostman dioceses – those set up by the Hiberno-Norse – made themselves subject to Canterbury and educated their bishops in England. Gilla Patriac, second bishop of Dublin, also received consecration from Archbishop Lanfranc in 1074, though he had trained in Ireland and his named shows 'devotion to the Patrician cult'.²¹ The 1101 Synod of Cashel was the first reforming council, driven by Muirchertach's desire to bolster his own 'international image'. At another synod at Ráith Bressail in 1111, Ireland was split into two ecclesiastical provinces (north and south) with twelve dioceses in each. Cashel was the chief bishopric in the south, but it was subject to Armagh, the primacy of the north. In 1152, at the Synod of Kells-Mellifont, the system was further reformed so that Ireland had four ecclesiastical provinces (Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam). Many of the abuses in the Irish Church were reformed at these councils, so that when the Anglo-Normans arrived in 1169 Ireland was moving in line with the rest of Europe; the Irish Church was certainly not reliant on external intervention in this respect. However, the process was not complete in 1169, so Henry II instituted further reforms and also altered the structure of church hierarchy in English-held areas so that they followed the same pattern as did those in England.²² Despite this, as in Scotland, the Irish Church was treated separately from the English by the papacy, and the Irish archbishops and bishops were addressed directly in matters of papal policy.

As in Ireland, the church in Wales was seen by contemporaries as corrupt, though it too began to reform before English influence took hold. Canterbury also claimed religious jurisdiction over Wales, and here it was far more successful than in Scotland and Ireland, even though its control was resisted throughout the period covered by this book. The Welsh Church in the eleventh century operated on a *clas* system whereby a bishop or abbot controlled a church run by a community of canons. There were three bishoprics, St David's, Llandaff and Bangor (a fourth, St Asaph, was created in 1143) which oversaw this system. Soon after the Normans began to conquer parts of Wales, they set about appointing Norman and English bishops to these posts, partly so that reformed churchmen were in control of the Welsh diocese, and also so that the four dioceses would be loyal to the conquerors. The policy was not very successful, as even some

of the king's appointments refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Canterbury.²³ At the end of the twelfth century the argument over Welsh ecclesiastical independence was brought to the fore once more, most notably by Gerald of Wales, and it was not until the middle of the thirteenth century that the bishop of St David's was directly addressed on crusade matters by the pope. The antagonistic relationship between the see of Canterbury and the Welsh bishoprics meant that the dissemination of crusade information could be fraught with double meaning, as efforts to preach were seen as attempts to control, and for the most part crusade matters were left to English churchmen, notably the bishop of Worcester.²⁴

England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales were historically, culturally, linguistically and ethnically different. Following the Norman invasion of England in 1066, the Anglo-Saxons were replaced, at least at the elite level, by the French-speaking Normans. Throughout the twelfth century, there was a division between the two, though it gradually closed through a process of intermarriage, settlement and birth. In Scotland there was also a mix between native Scots and Norman incomers as King David I invited them to settle, though those at the 'core' of Scotland saw themselves as Scottish, while those from the periphery (such as Moray) were seen as separate. Over the course of the thirteenth century all people from Scotland came to be seen as 'Scots'. In Wales, although there was partial conquest throughout the period of this book, integration was on a much smaller scale than in England, as, although there was some intermarriage, large parts of Wales were still under native rule.²⁵ The same was also true of Ireland, where, despite the 'conquest' of 1169, swathes of Ireland were still unconquered by 1300 and the Irish retained a distinctly separate identity.

Relations between the people of the four countries were often tense. Owing to their more developed and closer historical and cultural links to the continent, the English tended to look down on their Celtic neighbours as underdeveloped and barbaric. When the Normans arrived in England in 1066, there were many things about the Anglo-Saxon English that they found unacceptable. They had the same view of the Scots, as in Scotland slave taking was still an acceptable tactic in battle. It was seen as unchivalrous, and thus a sign of the Scots' inherent barbarity. Other than that, the initial view of the native Scots was essentially a neutral one. In the early twelfth century, however, the attitude shown in English writing changed, descriptions

of the native people of Britain and Ireland became more condemnatory, and the Anglo-Norman writer William of Malmesbury began to refer to them as barbarians.²⁶ Describing the Scots of 1174, William of Newburgh called them 'that inhuman nation, more savage than wild beasts'.²⁷ The same sorts of charges were levelled at Welshmen and Irishmen. Gerald of Wales, himself part Welshman, commented that his compatriots had 'not progressed at all from the primitive habits of pastoral living' and that they were gluttons who loved incest. The *Gesta Stephani*, written in the late 1140s and 1150s, called the Welsh 'men of a bestial type', and their negative reputation even spread to the continent, where Chretien de Troyes called them 'more uncouth than the beasts in the fields'.²⁸ Such derogatory descriptions of the native people of Britain and Ireland may stem from their position as sometime enemies of the Anglo-Normans and English. R. R. Davies termed it the 'mentality of domination', the process of making your enemies seem subhuman and inferior so that they were easier to defeat.²⁹

Not all aspects of the relationship between the conquerors and the people of Britain and Ireland were hostile. There was also a long process of assimilation due to necessity, whereby the incomers worked with native groups to control the lands they claimed.³⁰ For the Norman invaders in England, this was part of a much wider process, as Norman groups who conquered and settled other parts of Europe sought to assimilate with native populations so that they could strengthen their position. When they had first been granted Normandy in c.911, the Norsemen of Scandinavia adopted a Christianised and more civilised 'French' way of living that made them more acceptable. When the descendants of these Scandinavians invaded England in 1066, they took the same processes with them and altered the culture and identity of England. As their control spread into other parts of Britain and Ireland, the process replicated itself.

All of this stereotyping suggests that the lines between native inhabitants and settlers were clear-cut, but they were not, as intermarriage blurred the lines between groups. Marital links were important for joining the nobility of Britain and Ireland, and for transmitting familiar interests such as support for particular monastic orders or foundations, or interest in the crusades. Henry I married the Scottish princess Edith (who took the Norman name Matilda), while Edith's brother Alexander married Henry I's illegitimate daughter Sybilla. The Welsh princes Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd

both married Englishwomen, and settlers in Wales married women from the native dynasties. The most famous of these Welsh princesses was Nest, who had five children with her husband Gerald of Windsor, a son by Stephen, constable of Cardigan Castle, and another son by Henry I of England.³¹ The chronicler William of Malmesbury tells us that 'the blood of both peoples [English and Normans] flows in my veins.'³²

Intermarriage created people who were neither one race nor the other, but settlement also blurred the lines of ethnicity and made some areas of Ireland, Scotland and Wales more anglicised than others. Lowland Scotland was settled by Anglo-Norman incomers from the reign of David I onwards, as the king granted estates to men from south of the border, giving this area a character very different from that of northern Scotland. Even within the south there were divisions, as the eastern half was more settled than the west. In Wales, early and more permanent settlement in the southern parts led to the division of the country into two halves, *Pura Wallia* (pure Wales) and *Marchia Wallia* (the March of Wales), with the Anglo-Norman influence more prominent in the south. Settlement in Ireland was largely in the southern and eastern parts (Ulster, Meath, Leinster and Munster), with royal power centred on Dublin, though by c.1300 the settlers had taken land in the north-east of the country. In both Wales and Ireland the differing interests of settled versus native-held areas was reflected in the annals produced in their monastic houses, those in settled areas generally being more international in outlook.

In some cases settling in another part of Britain or Ireland had a detrimental impact on the identity of an Englishman, as they lost some of their English identity. In 1171, when the settlers were facing problems in Ireland, Maurice FitzGerald told his men:

What are we waiting for? Surely we are not looking to our own people? Because we are now constrained in our actions by this circumstance, that just as we are English as far as the Irish are concerned, likewise to the English we are Irish, and the inhabitants of this island and of the other assail us with an equal degree of hatred.³³

Living abroad marked a man out. Hywel, son of prince Rhys ap Gruffydd, spent some time in England as a hostage and took on so many Anglo-Norman attributes that he was given the nickname 'Sais',

English. So too did a poet from the court of the princes of North Wales, Elidir Sais.

Despite linguistic and cultural differences, there was also a great exchange of information between England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Dauvit Brown described Scotland and Ireland as 'united by the same Gaelic language, high culture, and major saints' cults', and at the Eisteddfod of 1176 at Cardigan people from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales came together to exchange cultural ideas.³⁴ There was a universal language, however, that allowed for the easy transmission of ideas. This was Latin, the language used by the religious. It facilitated the borrowing of manuscripts, though some works were in the vernacular. The networks of monastic orders that linked the four countries to each other, and to Europe as a whole, allowed historical and literary works to pass between their houses. Thus information of interest could be copied into the chronicles and histories of monastic houses all over Britain and Ireland, in addition to matters of local interest. Many common themes appeared in all the countries, notably the need to defend Christianity, uphold the rights of the church, valiant military exploits and the machinations of nobles and churchmen. If Latin was the language used by religious writers, Anglo-Norman French was that of the royal court, and its use showed both status and association with the continent. Although Scottish, William the Lion was a French-speaking king at a French-speaking court. According to Walter of Coventry, the Scots in the twelfth century 'regard themselves as Frenchmen by race, manners, habit and speech' and wanted to 'retain only Frenchmen in their service'. He was of course only referring to the noble elite of the Scottish court, but here it is clear they welcomed assimilation.

Although these countries were often at odds, they also had a history of fighting together. Welshmen served as mercenaries in the armies of Henry II, Richard I, John and Edward I in England, Scotland, Normandy, Ireland and Norway, and Henry II even told the Byzantine Emperor that Welshmen made fierce fighters. Henry used Welsh mercenaries in his war of 1173–74 and ordered Ranulph de Glanville to recruit more to fight for him in Normandy in the 1180s. When John tried to take the throne during Richard I's absence on crusade, he recruited 4,000 Welshman to fight for him.³⁵ During his wars in Scotland, Edward I used Irish and Welsh fighters, while the conquest of Wales some years earlier had used the Irish and Scots. The marcher lords of Wales and the settlers in Ireland also had

mixed retinues. Although traditionally enemies, fighting together in Britain and Ireland and on the continent meant that the military classes of British and Irish society were used to entering into combat side-by-side, something that would have fostered the recruitment of crusade armies of mixed ethnicity. Though contemporary English writers could be critical of the Irish, Welsh and Scots, they could still be included alongside other groups from Europe in the context of crusading armies:

As the good news spread over the whole world...it affected all who in the remotest islands or among barbarian tribes had heard the call of Christ. The time had come for the Welshman to give up hunting in his forests, the Scotsman forsook his familiar fleas, the Dane broke off his long drawn-out potations, the Norwegian left his diet of raw fish. The fields were deserted with none to till them, houses with none to live in them; whole cities were emptied...The numbers outstripped all expectation, although it was thought there were six million travellers. Never, beyond all doubt, had so many nations united in one way of thought; never had such a host of barbarians bowed its stubborn neck to one commander, indeed almost none.³⁶

Chapter 2: Recruitment and Funding

Throughout the twelfth century, recruitment and funding were only occasionally organised by the papacy on a European scale, as matters were usually left to monarchs, churchmen and those who intended to lead a crusade party. In the thirteenth century, and particularly with the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216), recruitment and funding became more formalised and centrally organised. The pontiff would appoint preachers, decide on the key areas of recruitment, and send out letters and bulls with information and instructions. As time went on, manuals for preaching and a growth of papal authority meant that the whole process became increasingly systematic.

For all the suggestions that people were moved to take the Cross on the spur of the moment, many preaching and recruitment events were highly stage-managed, and often months (if not years) had been spent laying the groundwork for some of the larger crusades. A whole range of personnel might be employed – from friars and monks to bishops and local churchmen – while preaching locations and captive audiences were key to success in many cases. That said, not everyone was recruited in this way, as some were ordered to go on crusade as penance or chose to go independently at a time when there were no widespread recruitment plans in place.

Funding the crusades was also a mixture of raising money centrally and funding through private means. Nobles might fund their crusades by mortgaging, leasing and, occasionally, selling estates, while those in their service might hope to have their expenses covered. At the very lowest levels of society, crusaders went to the Holy Land in much the same way as unarmed pilgrims went on their journeys – with little in the way of funding and reliant on charity for their passage, board and food.

As with preaching, as crusading became more organised and operated on a larger scale, funding became more systematic and efficient. The key tax here in England was the Saladin Tithe of 1188 (of which more below) ordered by Henry II to fund the Third Crusade. Soon after, the papacy started to organise regular tax collections for the crusade from its secular and monastic religious. Unsurprisingly, taxation was not popular and was often viewed with suspicion by those being asked to pay. It was also used as a bargaining tool in cross-border relations, as it was between England and Scotland. In addition to private funding and formal taxation, crusading was funded by the redemption of crusader vows and the proceeds of collection boxes placed in parish churches.

Recruiting Crusaders

Formal recruitment for the crusades was slower to get going in Britain and Ireland than it was on the continent. News of the First Crusade reached England quickly, but there was no suggestion of the preaching efforts found in France at this time. Perhaps the poor relations between the then king of England, William Rufus (r.1087–1100), and his bishops meant that the papacy felt that support from this area would not be forthcoming. Moreover, the Peace and Truce of God Movements, through which churchmen had initially sought to encourage peace (although they had gradually become used to the idea of limiting secular warfare), had been popular in France (and then more widely) but non-existent in England, where there was a strong tradition of royal peacemaking. To extend this sort of authority into England would not have been a natural step.

It was not until 1128 that efforts were made to recruit directly from England and Scotland. At that time Hugh de Payens, master of the Temple, came to ask for assistance as part of a wider tour. This was the first example of a prominent person associated with the Holy Land coming to Britain to solicit aid. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:

Hugh of Jerusalem came from Jerusalem to the king [Henry I] in Normandy; and the king received him with great honour, and gave him great treasures in gold and in silver; and afterwards he sent him to England, and there he was received by all good men, and all gave

him treasures – and in Scotland likewise – and by him sent much wealth, all in gold and silver, to Jerusalem. And he summoned a great people out to Jerusalem; and then there went, with him and after him, as great a number of people as ever did before since the first expedition which was in Pope Urban's day.¹

The claim of the *Chronicle* would suggest that such personal visits were very effective. The next visitor from the Holy Land was Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, who visited the English in the hopes of getting Henry II to lead a crusade. Henry arranged a council at the priory of St John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell on 18 March 1185, so that Heraclius could preach.² His emotional plea drew tears from the crowd, and many took the Cross. Another recruiter from the Holy Land was John of Valenciennes, who resigned his lordship in the Latin East and came to England in 1263–64 to try to attract crusaders. In 1238 Baldwin II, the Christian emperor of Constantinople, stayed at Henry III's court in an attempt to secure support for his beleaguered empire, but Richard of Cornwall was already set on going to the Holy Land, so Baldwin was unsuccessful.³

Formal pleas for assistance in the thirteenth century also came from the papacy via the papal legate, the pope's representative. The legates Pandulf and Ottobuono devoted their energies to promoting the crusade in England. Ottobuono also visited Scotland in September and November 1239; the pope had authorised him to collect money from potential crusaders who could no longer fulfil their vows. There was already a tradition of legatine promotion of the crusade in Scotland, as John of Salerno had preached the Cross at Perth in 1201 (and may also have collected crusade taxation), and other legates did so in 1212.⁴ Ottobuono was also concerned with promoting the crusade in Ireland, but he deputised the task to the bishop of Lismore.

Despite the roles of foreign visitors and the pope's representatives, the vast majority of those who undertook recruitment were from Britain and Ireland. Occasionally these might be from the very top of church hierarchy – such as when the archbishop of Canterbury preached in Wales – but for the most part, abbots, friars and bishops acted as recruiters. In addition to sending his papal bull for the Fifth Crusade, *Quia maior*, to England, Ireland and Scotland, in May 1213 Innocent III dispatched another work, *Pium et sanctum*, to individual preachers across Europe, including Walter, archdeacon of

London, the archbishop of Dublin, the abbot of Mellifont, and the bishops of Glasgow and St Andrews.⁵ In 1250 Henry III ordered the archbishop of Dublin to 'have the crusade preached throughout all Ireland'.⁶ Letters were also sent to the prior of Holy Trinity Dublin, the archbishop of Cashel and Armagh, the prior of the Dominicans and the minister of the Franciscans, instructing them to publish information about the crusade.⁷ In 1261, when soon after the fall of Constantinople the patriarch of Jerusalem ascended the papal throne as Urban IV, he sent letters ordering preaching in aid of the Holy Land and Constantinople to the bishops of St David's, St Andrew's and Worcester.⁸ Representatives of the secular and monastic church were used so that the message of the crusade could have a wider impact.

When the friars came to England in the early 1220s, the papacy began to use them to preach the Cross. Gregory IX (1227–41) had decided to use the mendicants '*en bloc* to broadcast propaganda' for all crusades across Europe, a role they continued to fulfil for almost all thirteenth-century crusades. The friars had an active missionary role and moved from place to place, so they were a natural choice to take up the role of crusade preaching. The friars took over from diocesan clergy and prelates in this role in 1234–35.⁹ According to Matthew Paris, they did not work alone, as archdeacons and deacons compelled people to attend the friars' preaching with the threat of anathema. He also tells us that in England and France they 'incited an immense number of people to make a vow of pilgrimage', though not all preachers were successful. He claimed that they

bestowed the Cross on people of every age, sex and condition, including invalids. But on the following day, or even immediately afterwards, receiving back the Cross for whatever price, they absolved those who had taken it from their vow of pilgrimage, and collected the money into the treasury of some powerful person. To simple people this seemed ridiculous, and the devotion of many was cooled, for it was being sold like sheep for their fleeces: and out of this no small scandal arose.¹⁰

In 1234 the friars were instructed by the pope to preach throughout Europe, including Britain and Ireland, and they took part in campaigns in England in Lent 1252 and 1292.¹¹ In 1275 Bishop Giffard of Worcester instructed all churches in his diocese to admit

the friars so that they could preach the crusade, while in 1291 the Dominicans established a preaching station at Hull for the same purpose, and those at the house of Greyfriars in Doncaster were dispatched to preach at Doncaster, Retford and Blythe.¹²

Organising preaching in Britain and Ireland across several different ethnic groups, languages and political units meant that the ethnicity of chosen personnel could be pivotal to success. In 1217 Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin and papal legate, together with Abbot Thomas of Mellifont, were commissioned to preach the crusade in Ireland. Using Cistercians to preach was a tried and tested method, but the choice of the two men was probably an attempt to appeal to the widest audience. The abbot of Mellifont would have appealed to the native Irish, while Henry of London preached to the Anglo-Norman settlers in Dublin. The abbot was deposed later in the year, so his mission must have had a limited impact, but it shows that the papacy was aware of the need to appeal to a divided country.¹³ In 1213 Walter de St Albans, bishop of Glasgow, and William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews, were ordered to preach the crusade in Scotland; after the Council of Perth in the same year some Scotsmen took the Cross.¹⁴

In Wales, English churchmen (usually the bishop of Worcester) directed preaching until the early 1260s, though during the tour of 1188 Baldwin ensured that he was accompanied by Siesyll, the Welsh abbot of Strata Florida.¹⁵ In 1263, however, Urban IV changed this practice by addressing his bulls regarding the crusade to Richard of Carew, bishop of St Davids.¹⁶ As with England and Scotland, Urban IV requested a hundredth of clerical incomes for five years, in addition to the fulfilment of any outstanding crusade vows.¹⁷ Matthews, editing the bulls in 1910, saw their address to Richard as proof that the papacy 'regarded the Diocese of Menevia [St Davids] as the premier see of Wales'.¹⁸ It is more likely that Urban IV realised that if he wanted the same degree of support from Wales as from England, Scotland and Ireland he would do better to appoint someone who was already familiar with Wales to undertake the task. It was no great watershed in accepting Welsh ecclesiastical independence. Bishop Walter of Worcester was still appointed to travel 'on the business of the crusade' to, among other places, Wales, indicating that even if the initial organisation of the crusade were devolved to the provinces, the final collection of money and organised of business were coordinated by the bishop of Worcester.¹⁹ It is entirely possible that the shift in

responsibility for organising crusading matters from Worcester to St David's was part of an attempt to increase control, not from England, but from the papacy.

No matter how eloquent the preaching, if there was no leadership for a crusade then those interested might lose focus and fail to depart. In light of this, the participation of the ruling men of Britain and Ireland (as well as of Europe as a whole) significantly helped recruitment drives, and so some effort was made to recruit kings, princes and lords. When the patriarch Heraclius came to England in January 1185, he dramatically laid the keys of the city of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre and the banner of the kingdom at the king's feet and explained that the Holy Land needed the assistance of a strong ruler. The importance of the role of the king can be seen during the reign of King John. At the time Innocent III declared his intention for a new crusade in April 1213, England was under interdict, so preaching and recruitment would have been problematic. Fortunately for the pope, King John submitted in the following month, allowing the papal legate to chase up people who had taken vows many years earlier and not fulfilled them, and to start to find new recruits, though England's clergy were preoccupied with regaining their possessions. When John took the Cross himself in March 1215 (probably for political rather than religious reasons), his example was followed by the earls of Chester and Ferrers, Richard de Marisco (the chancellor) and others. On the other hand, kings could be a hindrance to recruitment. At the time of the First Crusade, William Rufus and Archbishop Anselm stopped some monks of Cerne from leaving on crusade.²⁰ When Louis IX of France was recruiting for his crusade, Henry III stopped the bishop of Beirut from preaching in England and gained papal backing to delay the departure of those from England who did join the crusade.²¹ In Scotland, the lack of enthusiasm from the Scots king for the crusade meant that his influence was not utilised, and in Wales, although the Lord Rhys took the Cross, he went back on his vow and so was in no position to pressurise others into going.

In order to urge as many people as possible to take the Cross, that is, to make a vow to join the crusade and affix the symbol of the Cross to their clothing, preaching tended to be heavily stage-managed and planned in advanced. One of the things that needed careful consideration was the location of preaching, as a large audience was needed in order to have the greatest impact. For this reason, crusade

preaching usually took place at prearranged councils or places where people gathered, such as when Patriarch Heraclius addressed the council at Clerkenwell. The appeal for the Third Crusade in England was formally launched at the Council at Geddington on 11 February 1188 in front of the nobles of England, and the subsequent tour of Wales took in the important towns and religious sites of Wales and the March to achieve the maximum impact. In May of 1220 the archbishop of Canterbury ensured a captive audience for his crusade preaching by addressing the congregation at Henry III's second coronation.²² It was not just a question of finding the right location; there was also the issue of ensuring that enough ground was covered. Thus in 1213 Innocent III appointed three men to recruit in England; they divided the country into three areas and appointed deputies, such as the prior of Dunstable, to cover the areas they could not visit in person.

Even such forward planning could not, however, guarantee that people took the Cross, so preachers offered incentives to tempt men (and women) to join the crusade. Canon law offered crusaders particular protections, such as the security of their families and possessions, and the suspension of lawsuits and debts for the duration of their crusade.²³ These protections formed part of the crusading bulls of Eugenius III and Alexander III, and they were often issued in the form of personal letters to specific crusaders. When King John took the Cross in 1215, in the midst of conflict with his barons, it was these benefits which were probably at the forefront of his mind.²⁴

Perhaps more tempting was the remission of sins. In 1245 Innocent IV wrote to Henry III, offering those who joined a crusade at their own expense 'full pardon of their sins [and] ... a greater share of eternal salvation', while those who paid for someone else to go, according to their own rank and means, would also gain a full pardon.²⁵ Urban IV commanded the bishop of St Andrews to offer incentives in 1263, telling him to tell the people of Scotland of

the state of the Holy Land, and by prelates and clerks, secular and religious, chosen by him to preach the crusade, plenary remission being given by the pope to those penitents who personally assist, and to those who send men or go at the expense of others, and a proportionate pardon to those assisting otherwise, a hundred days of plenary indulgences being granted to penitents who attend processions and sermons. Power is given to the said bishop to

compel clerks to promote the crusade, any papal indult to the contrary notwithstanding.²⁶

Aside from the benefits offered to those who assisted in crusade promotion, Urban's instructions show how preaching was organised, what sorts of themes were discussed, and how recruitment was intended to be a communal activity which would bring a greater number of people into contact with the process of preaching the Cross. Even then, attendance at preaching events could not be guaranteed, so Pope Gregory IX offered remission of ten to thirty days for those who came to hear crusade sermons twice a week in England and Ireland.²⁷

Although there was clearly a high level of organisation when it came to recruitment, formal preaching did not occur in Britain for every major crusade nor was coverage universal. The Third Crusade, for example, was preached for six weeks in Wales and along the Welsh border, but it seems that no similar tour was ordered for England or Ireland, or suggested for Scotland. There were, however, other smaller tours in England at various times, such as in 1198–99, 1203–4, 1216–17 and 1238–40.²⁸ If they were as successful as the preaching tour of 1188, then they could have recruited several thousand crusaders each. Under Innocent III there was a concerted effort to organise recruitment centrally, so several letters were sent to Britain and Ireland to instruct churchmen to preach the Cross, but it is not clear on what scale these instructions were fulfilled. Although Innocent issued instructions across Europe, he had a particular interest in establishing peace in England between King John and his barons so that crusade participation could take place unhindered. Innocent III 'did make successful efforts to enlist leaders of both the royal and baronial factions for the crusade.'²⁹ Establishing peace in Europe was one of the concerns of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which declared that, in order for crusade plans to proceed unhindered, 'rulers of Christian peoples should keep peace with each other' for a period of four years. The canons went on to decree that those who refused to make peace would 'be most strictly compelled to do so by excommunication of their persons and an interdict on their lands.'³⁰

Preaching to promote the Fifth Crusade was also driven by domestic concerns, with preaching aimed at recruiting those who were opposing the crown; as long as John was embroiled in conflict

at home, he could not fulfil his own vow. The hope of the recruiters was that attracting people away from fighting at home by offering them a chance of salvation overseas would be enough to stop civil strife. Despite papal backing, it is not clear how widespread preaching and recruitment was. Many local, smaller tours may have gone unrecorded, such as the commission to preach the Cross given to Richard de Morins, prior of Dunstable, in 1212 in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire.³¹ Preaching in smaller churches was largely ignored by contemporary writers, as it was too commonplace to elicit comment. This may have been the case throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The thirteenth century did, however, see a more concerted effort at recruitment, largely from England, though for the more general crusades the pope sought fighters in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. In the 1230s St Edmund of Abingdon preached to recruit for the earl of Cornwall's crusade, but the greatest efforts were saved for the decades when Henry III was promising to depart on his own crusade. Preaching took place in London in 1252 when Henry declared to the Londoners that he would go on crusade, but his audience was not impressed. Attempts to recruit continued throughout the 1260s, partly to support Henry's ongoing crusade plans but also to bring about peace between the king and Montfortian rebels. To help, Pope Clement IV instructed the papal legate Ottobuono to preach and 'not to admit a treaty of false peace until the pestilent man [earl Simon de Montfort] ... be plucked out of the realm of England' and to preach a crusade 'or causing it to be done' if he could not enter England in person.³² In December 1265 Ottobuono held a council at which he called for peace between royalists and rebels so that a crusade could be launched, and he spread the message to Ireland and Scotland.³³ He also played a role in securing the Treaty of Montgomery (1267) between Henry III and the Welsh prince, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, as peace with Llywelyn was necessary if Henry III was to go on crusade.

The pope's decision to send his legate instead of leaving recruitment to the English crown and episcopate was not entirely successful. When Ottobuono addressed parliament at Bury St Edmunds in February 1267, his appeal found no supporters. The chronicler William of Rishanger suggested that the English viewed Ottobuono's attempts to recruit them with suspicion, members of parliament complaining that it was 'evident that the legate wished to exile the natural offspring of

the country, that foreigners might more easily gain possession of it'. Ottobuono enlisted the assistance of the friars to preach the Cross after his failure at Bury St Edmunds but continued to preach himself. He preached in London, for example, when the former rebel Gilbert de Clare joined opponents to the Dictum of Kenilworth there in April 1267, and he was successful in recruiting Gilbert's brother Thomas.³⁴ The same sort of preaching occurred in Lincoln, but the legate could not garner much support.

Ottobuono's crusade message only started to have a real impact after the Lord Edward took the Cross at the parliament at Northampton in the summer of 1268. He did so despite the advice of both his father and pope Clement IV to stay in England. At the same time his brother Edmund, earl Warenne, Henry of Almaine and Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, also took the Cross. A large army was now recruited to accompany the princes, though this was not done by preaching, perhaps because Ottobuono was absent from England for the period leading up to the crusade. Instead, Edward was accompanied by members of his own household who signed contracts to provide service. Among those who were recruited in this way were Anthony Bek, Otto de Grandison, Philip de Willoughby, Adam of Jesmond and Payn de Chaworth.³⁵

There were other effective means of recruitment besides preaching that could encompass areas where no tours were planned. Letters requesting assistance, for example, were common. In 1146 Bernard of Clairvaux, busy promoting the Second Crusade in France and Germany, wrote to the English to ask for their assistance:

Your land is well known to be rich in young and vigorous men. The world is full of their praises, and the renown of their courage is on the lips of all. Gird yourself therefore like men and take up arms with joy and with zeal for your Christian name ... for how long will your men continue to shed Christian blood; for how long will they continue to fight among themselves? You attack each other, you slay each other and by each other you are slain. ... But now, O mighty soldiers, O men of war, you have a cause for which you can fight without danger to your souls; a cause in which to conquer is glorious and for which to die is gain ... But to those of you who are merchants, men quick to seek a bargain ... take up the Cross and you will find indulgence for all the sins which you humbly confess.³⁶

In 1188 the patriarch of Antioch wrote to Henry II, and Peter d'Albini wrote to the earl of Chester in 1222.³⁷ Dozens of letters were dispatched to England in the thirteenth century, including ones to the Master of the Temple, Richard of Cornwall, Henry III and Edward I.³⁸

Another method of recruiting crusaders was to hold regular church services in aid of the Holy Land. In 1188 the Cathedral of St Paul's offered daily prayers for this purpose. Peter of Blois wrote two sermons to promote the Third Crusade, *De Hierosolymitana Peregrinatione Acceleranda* and *Passio Reginaldi, Principis Olim Antiochenae*, as well as a letter attacking those who would not join the crusade.³⁹ In the thirteenth century preaching for the crusade became increasingly complex. In order to guide sermon writers, in c.1216, *On Preaching the Holy Cross in England* was written to help preachers get the most from their words. By the thirteenth century churchmen appear to have integrated crusade sermons into the liturgical year. Two sermons that survive in thirteenth-century manuscripts stipulated that the sermons be preached to potential crusaders on key dates in the church calendar, such as Good Friday – the day was chosen because religious feeling should be high and the churches would be full.⁴⁰ At the time of the Fifth Crusade, a handbook for the preaching of the Cross was written for promotion.⁴¹

Crusades were promoted through the veneration of relics associated with Christ and his life in the Holy Land. In 1123 a piece of the True Cross arrived in Ireland and was enshrined in Roscommon by Turloch O'Connor, king of Connaught. It became known as the Cross of Cong. It was sent 'as a means', suggests Marie Therese Flanagan, 'of promoting Irish participation in the papally fostered crusading movement'.⁴² In the 1240s, as part of a wider attempt to stimulate interest in assisting the East, the relic of the Holy Blood was presented to Henry III 'as a means of focussing men's minds upon the sufferings of Christ and hence upon the need for a crusade'.⁴³ Tangible links to the Holy Land and the life of Christ might move men when sermons could not.

Even if recruitment efforts were successful in motivating people to take the crusade vow, this did not necessarily mean they would fulfil them. In 1196, for example, Hubert Walter wrote to the see of York to order the officials there to get absentee crusaders to fulfil their vows.⁴⁴ Realising that non-fulfilment was common but also that it could prove lucrative, in the thirteenth century Innocent III positively encouraged

people to take the Cross precisely so that they could pay to be excused from their vows, as he felt the money would be better used paying combatants to go to the Holy Land. Those who were old or infirm were ideal candidates. In 1236 Gregory IX gave the legate Ottobuono permission to absolve Scottish crusaders on these grounds with the understanding that they would contribute the equivalent of the cost of crusading themselves.⁴⁵ Some crusaders would also pay someone to fulfil their vow in their place.

The Preaching Tour of Wales and the Welsh March, 1188

The only systematic preaching tour in Britain and Ireland for which we have detailed information took place in 1188, led by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. The level of surviving detail on this tour is entirely due to the work of Gerald of Wales, archdeacon of Brecon, who accompanied the archbishop and wrote an account of their activities, the *Journey through Wales*; almost all other sources ignore the tour altogether. Baldwin's tour spent six weeks during Lent travelling around Wales and the Welsh Marches, travelling to many of the key urban and religious centres of Wales and addressing the country's leading men.

The primary aim of the tour was clearly to recruit crusaders. The English kings had used Welsh mercenaries in their armies before, and their skill with bow and lance was well-known. Wales was also a poor country compared to England, and if Henry wanted a contribution he would get further asking for men than money; it is thus possible that the recruitment tour was ordered as an alternative to collecting the Saladin Tithe, and that is why no comparable tour took place in England. Henry had other motives too. He was interested in potential troublemakers from Wales, since he did not want the Welsh rulers to take advantage of his absence to attack English holdings. Obviously not all potential opponents took the Cross, and so Richard I 'received security from the tributary kings of the Welsh and of the Scots, that they would not pass their borders for the annoyance of England during his absence'.⁴⁶

Archbishop Baldwin had other motives for agreeing to the journey. First, he was embroiled in a dispute with the canons of Canterbury Cathedral and it was a useful way to remove himself from their company. This is what his contemporary, Gervase of Canterbury,

believed.⁴⁷ Second, the tour offered Baldwin the ideal opportunity to exercise his authority over the four dioceses of Wales, which, since the Anglo-Norman conquest of Wales began, had been trying to claim complete independence. As primate of all Britain, Baldwin wanted to visit the four dioceses of Wales in order to ascertain his rights and to ensure that his bishops were running their dioceses effectively, something that was clear from the instruction he gave at Bangor concerning the burial of Prince Owain Gwynedd. Baldwin had already visited Wales in the summer of 1187, but the tour allowed him to spread his influence further and to visit the seats of the four Welsh bishoprics. Finally, Baldwin had a personal interest in, and commitment to, the crusades, having taken the Cross in March 1185. As the preeminent churchman in England, he was the natural choice to fulfil this role, but it is worth remembering that Baldwin departed on the Third Crusade and died in the Holy Land, so he clearly supported the crusade.

The tour of Wales and the Marches was heavily stage-managed from the start. When the journey began at Radnor, Baldwin began his preaching and Gerald 'threw... [himself] at the holy man's feet and devoutly took the sign of the Cross'.⁴⁸ The apparent spontaneity of the gesture was misleading, because Gerald had been mulling over this decision for some time. Such a dramatic display would, however, give 'strong encouragement to the others and an added incentive to what they had just been told'.⁴⁹ Moreover, to beat his fellow churchmen to it would no doubt have given the egotistical Gerald great satisfaction.

In order to have the greatest impact, and in keeping with other recruitment efforts, Baldwin ensured that the tour stopped to preach in the most important locations in Wales and the Marches. Southern Wales and the March, which were strongly influenced by English settlers, had more urban centres, so these were usually the focus of the preaching efforts. Many of the sites, such as Rhuddlan and Cardiff, were the focus of local fairs, whereas others, such as Brecon and Kidwelly, were in the shadow of Anglo-Norman towns where settlements had established themselves. Such locations were chosen because they regularly attracted large crowds and, being military strongholds, would presumably draw members of the castle garrison to hear the sermons. Preaching in the town of Haverfordwest was particularly successful, perhaps because of its international flavour: in addition to the English and Welsh in the town, Haverfordwest was the

largest urban site in an area where large groups of Flemings had been settled since the reign of Henry I. Choosing such centres also fulfilled very practical requirements, as the archbishop and his entourage had to be accommodated and fed on their tour through Wales, and towns would be some of the easier places to achieve this.

Travelling through areas with a mixed Welsh, English and Flemish population meant that the preachers faced linguistic challenges. 'Though the Welsh could not understand his language', Gerald tells us of the archbishop, 'almost every day he was continually preaching the word of salvation'.⁵⁰ For this reason, the tour party involved translators who could appeal to a wider audience, such as Alexander, an archdeacon of Bangor, who translated the sermons at Usk Castle.⁵¹ However, the ability to preach in the native tongue of their audience was not always beneficial. When Gerald preached in Haverfordwest, his words met with a favourable response. He tells us:

In Haverfordwest first the Archbishop himself gave a sermon, and then the word of God was preached with some eloquence by the Archdeacon of St David's... in short, by me. A great crowd of people assembled, some of them soldiers, others civilians. Many found it off and some, indeed, thought it little short of miraculous, that when I, the Archdeacon, preached the word of God, speaking in Latin and then in French, those who could not understand a word of either language were just as much moved to tears and the others, rushing forward in equal numbers to receive the sign of the Cross.⁵²

At St David's his preaching met with a similar response, but when Gerald's message was translated into Welsh, his audience 'immediately recoiled from the vow that they had taken'.⁵³ A similar thing had happened to St Bernard of Clairvaux when preaching to an audience in Germany; when translated into German, his speech sounded so poor that the audience left rather than listen to any more.⁵⁴

As in England, recruitment efforts were more likely to be successful if Archbishop Baldwin could get some of the prominent men of Wales and the March to take the Cross. His most effective way of doing this was through private audiences, such as those with a man named Hector at Cruker Castle and with Maelgwyn ap Cadwallon, prince of Maelienydd. Again, this echoed continental methods, as Bernard of Clairvaux had only succeeded in securing the vow of Conrad III of Germany by engaging him in a private audience, his public preaching

before the emperor having failed to elicit the desired response. Association with holy events also boosted the archbishop and his message. Although the relics used to promote crusading in England and Ireland appear to have been absent in Wales, miracles associated with sites where the Cross was preached, notably at Cardigan and Haverfordwest, may have inspired those who did not immediately take the Cross to do so afterwards. This was not the only time miracles were associated with crusade preaching. When St Edmund preached the Cross, 'the clouds and rain obeyed him to ensure the faithful people were not prevented from hearing his sermon', and his audience was not diminished.⁵⁵

The response to the preaching tour was mixed. Gerald claimed that 3,000 men made a crusade vow as the result of the tour, and he attributed most of this to his own eloquence! There were differing responses in the native Welsh and settled areas of Wales, though it can be hard to gauge the success of the preaching, as Gerald is prone to overemphasise his own achievements. He claimed that King John criticised him for having 'emptied his lands of all the strength of men that was his defence against the Welsh', suggesting that many Anglo-Normans took the Cross. On the other hand, Rhys ap Gruffydd's fool claimed that Gerald 'sent a hundred of your [Rhys's] men or more to serve Christ'.⁵⁶ Gerald names some of those who vowed to join the crusade, among them several Welsh princes, but it does not appear that any of them set out. Delays in the organisation of the crusade and, perhaps more crucially for Welsh involvement, the death of Henry II and the subsequent shift in Anglo-Welsh relations meant that many of them became embroiled in warfare with the Anglo-Norman lords and each other, which prevented them from travelling to the Holy Land.

Funding the Crusade

Recruiting crusaders was only the first stage of organising a crusade; once the vows had been made, the men and women had to turn to how they would fund their activities. Crusading was a costly affair; a lengthy absence abroad, often for several years, together with the cost of a horse, armour, arms and equipment (for a knight), as well as the expense of feeding both yourself and your retinue, could be crippling. The fact that the knightly retinue was a common way of

recruiting meant that nobles and knights would have to support potentially large retinues of knights, squires, chaplains, servants and hangers-on.

Raising cash so that funds were portable was the best way of financing crusading, though at first there was a relative scarcity of coinage, which made it hard to gather together transportable funding. In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries a growing economy in England, thanks in part to the reforms of Henry II, meant that more money that could be raised for the crusade. Compared to her neighbours, though, England was wealthy, and so participants from Ireland, Scotland and Wales found it harder to raise funds. These countries were not economically stagnant – Wales, for example, went through a period of great growth in this period – but there were underlying problems which weakened the potential for wealth generation. Land, for example, was worth less than in England, making it harder to raise sufficient funds from mortgages and rents. Partible inheritance meant that Welsh estates were divided among heirs and wealth was not allowed to accumulate, while much of the most enterprising economic development (such as sheep farming), which proved lucrative, was the work of Anglo-Norman and Flemish settlers.⁵⁷ Early twelfth-century Scotland was a society primarily based on rendering in kind rather than cash, but by the start of the early fourteenth century there was a significant amount of coinage, suggesting growth in the ability to raise revenue in the intervening period. Growth was also slow in Ireland, though it accelerated considerably under the influence of Anglo-Norman incomers after 1169.

Funding came from two main sources: taxes raised by the king or pope specifically for the crusade, and money raised by selling, mortgaging or leasing private property. Unsurprisingly, taxation was not popular, though it is a testament to the royal and papal administrative machinery that it was collected over such a wide area. The raised revenue was used to fund the large crusading armies and was usually granted to the king (if he was taking part) or to the leading nobles to fund their large retinues. Funding raised by individuals was generally a more small-scale affair by which a crusader would raise money to cover his expenses. This was usually the only method open to independent travellers and those who were not in royal service, and for many the money raised was not sufficient to cover expenses.

The earliest crusade activities were not publicly funded, so even the great magnates had to raise money independently. In 1096 Robert

Curthose, duke of Normandy, mortgaged his duchy to his brother King William Rufus for 10,000 marks. This was less than a quarter of William's annual income from England, but it shows how much money was felt necessary to fund a campaign. Raising this money was not a popular idea in England; the chronicler John of Worcester complained that in order to raise the mortgage, 'bishops, abbots, abbesses broke up their gold and silver ornaments, earls, barons, sheriffs despoiled their knights and villeins, and gave the king a large sum of gold and silver'.⁵⁸ Despite this, William was able to pay the money to his brother at Rouen in September 1096. The mortgaging of Normandy to pay for the crusade led to the control of the duchy by William Rufus, whose rule fostered stability and growth.

Raising money from rents, loans and mortgages continued to be the standard way of raising funds for crusaders. Robert Constable, a Yorkshire knight, gave Meaux Abbey five hundred acres of land and leased out two villages in order to raise funds.⁵⁹ Sometimes land was leased out for less than its value, as was the case with Stokesay manor. No doubt due to its position on the volatile Welsh frontier, in 1270 John de Verdun rented it out for £24 for three years, even though the manor itself was worth £26 13s. 4d a year in 1274.⁶⁰ Herbert de Boyville sold land to fund his crusade, and Hugh Tirel sold his manor of Langham in Essex to Gervase of Cornhill for 100 marks so he could join the Second Crusade. Philip of Badger (Shropshire) sold the estate of Beckbury to his brother in 1227 in order to fund his crusading activities.⁶¹ Simon de Montfort felled and sold his woods in Leicester and sold them to the Hospitallers for £1,000 to fund his crusade of 1240.⁶² In the thirteenth century land hunger made it easier to find a buyer for land and forced up prices – so much so that in the late 1240s Henry FitzHenry (Berkshire) was able to start a bidding war for his estate, as there was more than one interested party.⁶³ If sale was the only option, overall, men tended to alienate lands that did not form the core of their holdings. There are no comparable records of this type of activity from Scotland, Ireland and Wales, suggesting that landowners may not have been willing or able to raise money in this way.

When Richard I embarked on crusade in 1189, he added to the money raised from the Saladin Tithe (of which more below) by raising funds privately through the sale of offices, lands, rights and privileges. Many of these transactions are recorded in the *Chronicle of Richard of Devises*. Men who had taken the Cross – perhaps unwillingly – were

allowed to redeem their vows, while William Longchamp paid the king £3,000 to be appointed chancellor of England. Richard of Devises claimed that Richard declared, 'If I could have found a buyer I would have sold London itself.'⁶⁴ Hugh bishop of Durham was made earl of Northumberland and co-justiciar of England; so great were his debts to the king for these honours that he was forced to write to the pope to ask that his own crusading vow be commuted, pleading old age and using the money collected to fund the crusade to pay Richard.⁶⁵ Richard set about redistributing the English shrievalties as a way of gaining more money, the most expensive of which was Lincoln; Gerard of Camville paid 700 marks for the post and the castle. Richard also extracted 10,000 marks from the Scots king William the Lion in the Quitclaim of Canterbury, which freed William from the humiliating Treaty of Falaise made with Henry II in 1174, in which William had had to recognise Henry as his feudal overlord.⁶⁶

Richard I has been criticised for the amount of money he demanded from England throughout his reign. A. L. Poole claimed he 'used England as a bank on which to draw and overdraw in order to finance his ambitious exploits abroad'.⁶⁷ In 1191 and 1193 the royal exchequer collected only £11,000, compared to £21,000 in 1188 under Henry II, suggesting that his exactions had a negative impact on the economy.⁶⁸ A large amount of the money raised, however, was spent in England before the crusaders departed, thus putting the money back into the English system. A large fleet of ships was equipped with salt pork, beans and cheese, as well as 10,000 horseshoes. The money for the crusade was also less than Richard demanded to fund his wars in France, which led Ralph of Coggeshall to complain that 'no age can remember or history tell of any king who demanded and took so much money from his kingdom as this king extorted and amassed within the five years after his return from his captivity'.⁶⁹

The king and other wealthy landowners continued to fund some of their followers during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Henry II reluctantly promised to fund the crusade of his son, Young King Henry. When Young Henry died, William Marshal fulfilled the vow on his master's behalf, but Henry only gave him a small portion of the promised money (25 pounds sterling) and William was forced to borrow the rest of the necessary funding from friends. Others fared better. When Richard of Cornwall went on crusade in 1240, he was one of the wealthiest 'uncrowned laymen in Europe' due, in large part, to the profits of Cornish tin mining. In addition, his brother Henry III

granted fifty marks to Amaury of St Amand, ten to Reynold Bernvall and twenty to Roland de Bray in c.1240 for joining his crusade.⁷⁰ Royal financing of individual crusaders reached its apex during the crusade of the Lord Edward (1270–72). Louis IX, the overall leader of this crusade, lent the Lord Edward 70,000 *livres tournaïs* for the crusade; in his turn, Edward drew up contracts with some of his followers to cover their expenses. As recruitment for this crusade followed years of civil war in England, it is likely that many men could not afford the additional cost of crusading after years of expenditure on domestic conflict. Furthermore, during this period restrictions were placed on the possessions of rebels, and they were obliged to pay the crown damages by the terms of the Dictum of Kenilworth (October 1266). The Dictum also stipulated that men could buy back their lands 'at a price that varied according to the level of their involvement in the rebellion', which for most rebels was five times the annual yield of the land.⁷¹ Many rebels (and loyalists too) tried to buy back their seized estates, which often involved lengthy and expensive court cases, while others (such as the earl of Derby) were ordered to pay fines which they could have no hope of affording.⁷² This was not the only time that the English offered funding for crusaders who could not afford it; when archbishop Pecham suggested that Dafydd ap Gruffydd undertake a crusade during the Welsh Wars of Edward I, he tried to make the offer more attractive by declaring that it would be at the English king's expense.⁷³

Some crusaders received substantial grants in the 1260s. Roger de Clifford was awarded income from wardships totalling £500–£700 a year, and Roger de Leyburn was offered 2,000 marks, as was Gilbert de Clare, plus an additional 6,000 marks if he took part in the crusade with the Lord Edward rather than on his own.⁷⁴ On other occasions Edward paid the costs of crusaders and their retinues directly, such as to cover the 'hire of a ship and water for as many persons and horses as are appropriate for knights'.⁷⁵ Edward made an agreement like this with seventeen men, including his brother Edmund. The grants were made under strict terms, as in return for funding them to the tune of 21,600 marks, he expected them to furnish eighty-nine knights to join the crusade.⁷⁶

Public financing in the form of taxation was collected in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales from the late twelfth century onwards. The most famous was the Saladin Tithe of 1188 (of which more below), which was raised in England. Henry II raised a levy as early

as 1166, and he was supposed to provide funding for 200 knights in the Holy Land in 1172. The 1166 levy was modelled on the tithe, a collection made by the church, making it a fitting method for collecting money for a religious enterprise. In 1185 Henry gained the agreement of his bishops and barons for raising a further tax for three years on income and movables from clerics and laymen, though it is not clear if this particular levy was collected. In each case, a levy on movables was preferred, as the English kings were reluctant to tax property. The money raised must have been significant, as by 1187 Henry had allegedly sent 30,000 silver marks to Crusader States.⁷⁷ As time went on, taxation became more common, although this did not mean that raising it was any easier. Britain and Ireland were increasingly taxed as part of wider European trends that were really promoted by Pope Innocent III, who wanted to take greater control of the crusade movement. In December 1199 he began to finance the crusades directly by raising revenue from church personnel, initially demanding a fortieth of clerical incomes (2.5 per cent). He sent tax gatherers out across Europe. In England, a Master Philip was dispatched to spread the message of the tax. Unsurprisingly, payment met with resistance; in 1200 Geoffrey FitzPeter, the English justiciar, may have tried to stop the Council of Westminster specifically so the fortieth could not be collected.⁷⁸ Philip was accused of avarice, as he exacted another third from the clergy on top of the money he raised for the pope. He was not the only papal representative who was seen as money-grubbing, as the legate John of Salerno earned himself the criticism of Roger of Howden and the Melrose Chronicle.⁷⁹ Innocent also asked the laity to contribute funds, but he could not demand it of them. Instead he had to encourage the king to raise the tax, which John agreed to do at an assembly in Paris in June 1201. The tax collected was to be deposited with the Templars in London, and those who had taken the Cross would have their money refunded upon departure.⁸⁰ In addition, the Cistercians were asked to contribute, and this again was not popular. According to the Welsh *Annales Cambriae*, in 1201 the pope 'violently exacted [*violenter exegit*] a tithe from the Cistercians for the aid of the Holy Land'.⁸¹

The clergy came up with all kinds of excuses to avoid payment. They claimed that coinage offered to the collectors at the Temple was refused for being out of date (new coinage was minted in 1205) or that the fortieth should only apply to spiritual revenue and not possessions.⁸² Delay worked for a while, as when England was under

interdict the collection could not be gathered. Such taxation was not, however, forgotten, as the papacy increasingly imposed levies on the clergy in favour of the Holy Land. The next, far more onerous tax was the twentieth for three years collected by Honorius III. Tax collectors were appointed, and in England the tax was efficiently gathered.⁸³ Tax collection was increasingly organised by the papacy, and at the Council of Lyons in 1245 pledges to pay towards a crusade subsidy were gathered from the bishops of Scotland and England. In order to ensure that they were collected, Pope Innocent IV (d.1254) dispatched envoys. To Scotland, he sent the bishop-elect of Bethlehem, Goffredo de Prefetti.⁸⁴ The envoy had other roles to fulfil in Scotland, but according to Matthew Paris his main aim was to extract money from the Scots on behalf of Rome, a move that was not popular. At the same time, Innocent sent Giovanni Rubeus to Ireland to collect the subsidy there.⁸⁵

Reluctance to pay crusade taxes is understandable – even more so when it was believed that the money raised was going to be misused. This was the case under Henry III, whose crusade schemes and requests for assistance led to doubts about where money intended for the Holy Land would end up. The triennial tenth granted to the king in 1250 was viewed with suspicion for this very reason, and the clergy only agreed to pay it under certain conditions.⁸⁶ There was a delay in collecting the money, so the pope dispatched a papal nuncio to England in 1255 to resolve the matter. However, in the intervening period the situation in England had changed, and the clergy were no longer happy to pay up, rejecting the nuncio's proposals. They did so because in March 1254 Pope Innocent IV offered Henry III the throne of Sicily for his second son, Edmund. The catch was that Manfred, who had captured the island by the summer of 1255, would have to be defeated and the pope reimbursed for the £90,000 he had already spent on the campaign. This would involve an expensive overseas campaign which Henry could not afford, having recently accumulated substantial debts in Gascony. Henry saw no conflict with commuting his original crusading vow to focus on Sicily, as Manfred was the pope's enemy and Henry felt he owed the papacy a debt of gratitude for the assistance the papal legates had given him in securing his throne, but his nobles were not so sanguine.⁸⁷ The Burton annalist complained that Henry's decision was 'stupid and ill-considered'.⁸⁸ Those in England who knew that Henry wished to change his plans viewed with surprise the ease with which preachers might change

from promoting crusades against Muslims to advocating crusades against Christians.⁸⁹

At first the clergy were in tune with their superiors, as the pope was unwilling to fund the Sicilian adventure and interested only in securing Henry's money. Henry III asked the bishop of Hereford to raise money from Italian merchants using the hoped-for crusade tax as security for the loans, but again the tax was resisted. Despite their pleas, Alexander pressed forward with his demands in the face of stiff opposition.⁹⁰ Only four years later the pope informed Henry that the Sicilian throne was no longer available to him, thus removing the need for a tax, which was just as well, as the clerics were still withholding payment of the tenth. They also refused, in May 1263, to pay a subsidy in favour of a campaign to restore the Latin Emperor to Constantinople.⁹¹

Henry's decision to alter the aim of his crusade and the way he demanded money, via the pope, for what was essentially a political conflict added to the grievances against Henry. When a list of criticisms regarding his rule was presented to him in 1264, his barons complained:

Again, the lord [Henry III] took the cross in aid of the Holy Land and many of his nobles and other subjects were induced to do likewise on the same pretext, but at length his vow and that of his entire people was unreasonably converted, against all hope and expectation, from a crusade against the Saracens who are the foes of Christ's cross in an attack on fellow-subjects of the same Christian religion. And to the greater confusion of the kingdom, a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues was granted to him for five years for their overthrow.⁹²

The barons ordered clerics to send 'nothing out of the realm' in March 1265, which would have meant that no money could be sent abroad in favour of the crusade. Although they opposed the tax, a reluctant laity was also asked to pay towards the crusade in 1268, and in the spring of 1270 they finally agreed.⁹³

Collection of taxes for the Holy Land was usually organised on a diocesan level under the auspices of the local bishop or abbot. In 1250 the bishops of St Andrews and Aberdeen were ordered to 'collect legacies and offerings from all sources in Scotland', and the archbishop of Dublin was asked to do the same in Ireland. In 1262

Ivo, a friar preacher of Ayr in Scotland, collected money for the crusade and deposited it at the church of the Premonstratensian chapter at Whitehorn. It was supposed to be passed on to the Templars in London but there was some sort of delay, so Pope Urban IV commanded that it be paid over to a Master Leonard or to a Florentine firm of merchants. The range of personnel involved in the collection and management of this Scottish funding shows how diverse the people involved in collecting money for the crusades could be.⁹⁴ The bishop of Worcester often gathered taxes from Wales, at least until 1263. This may have been because of the problems of loyalty from among the bishops of the Welsh dioceses or because at various times they were not resident in their sees. In 1263 Richard, bishop of St Davids, was commissioned to preach in favour of an aid for the Holy Land.⁹⁵

A whole range of personnel might be called upon to collect money in addition to the diocesan clergy. The friars who preached the Cross, for example, were also called upon to collect crusade subsidies. John the Englishman, the Franciscan provincial minister of Provence but clearly an Englishman, was chosen to collect the crusade subsidy in England in 1246, and in 1274 the pope appointed the Dominican John of Darlington to collect the tenth. In 1294 the abbey of Holm Cultram in Cumbria was responsible for the collection the Holy Land subsidy.⁹⁶ At other times the collection of funds was left in secular hands. When Henry III was organising the collection of taxes to fund his sons' crusade, the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland and the earldom of Lancashire were placed under the collective jurisdiction of John and Eustace de Balliol, Robert de Ros and Adam of Jesmond, all major landholders in the north.⁹⁷

In addition to direct taxation, it was possible to raise money through the redemption of crusaders' vows. In 1188 an elderly Welshman named Cadur offered a donation of a tenth of his possessions in return for half the indulgence as 'the weakness of old age and the ravages of time' made it impossible for him to contribute militarily.⁹⁸ Under Innocent III, men, women and children were actively encouraged to take the Cross and then redeem their vows, with an effective sliding scale of indulgences depending on how much an individual contributed to the crusading cause.⁹⁹ He charged Hubert Walter to oversee these redemptions in England for those who, 'because of infirmity or poverty or some other good reason, could not usefully fulfil their vow of pilgrimage'.¹⁰⁰ Hubert Walter had in fact asked the

pope for advice, because King John required many of the crusaders who made their vows in 1200 to stay at home in order to assist with the war in Normandy against the French king. In the wake of the 1236 preaching campaign undertaken by the friars, the pope sent Master Thomas, a Templar, to England to redeem the vows of crusaders, and there are numerous references to churchmen being dispatched to England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales in order to collect money owed for redemption.¹⁰¹ Not everyone viewed the exchange of his or her vow for money as a legitimate exchange. Matthew Paris tells us that people wondered at 'the insatiable greediness of the Roman court', not least because the papacy also wanted those who had *not* taken a vow to contribute financially.¹⁰²

Although some people went on crusade as an act of penance, some were allowed to offer a financial contribution for the Holy Land as a penitential act. The most famous example here is of Henry II. After the murder of Thomas Becket, Henry was instructed to pay the Templars for the maintenance of 200 knights for one year in the Holy Land. All four of Becket's murderers also made gifts to either the Templars or the Leper Knights, and they may have been ordered to go into exile for 14 years in the Holy Land, where they would presumably have employed their military skills in the defence of the Christians.¹⁰³ Some money was also collected via straightforward donations by placing money boxes in parish churches, in which those who wished to support the crusade could leave their contributions. In 1213 Innocent III ordered that locked chests be placed 'where a general procession gathers'. Legacies were also left in wills to aid the Holy Land. The Trinitarian order, for example, used a third of the money left to them to ransom captives who were held by Muslims in the East.¹⁰⁴

The collection of crusade finance was about more than just funding war in the Holy Land – it was also part of the power play between England and her neighbours, as the king sought to tax them for his own ends. When English control was comparatively weak, it was hard to collect funding; the Saladin Tithe was not collected in Scotland, Ireland or Wales, for example, though Henry II arranged for its collection in Normandy.¹⁰⁵ In 1251 Henry III was granted a clerical tax to fund his newly redeclared crusade, and he asked the pope if the money could also be collected in Scotland. Unlike Ireland and parts of Wales, Scotland was independent of English rule, and the request was not popular. Innocent IV declared it 'completely unheard of' in 'another's kingdom', but the papal opposition was short-lived.¹⁰⁶

In 1254 Innocent changed his mind; Henry then appointed a collector to Wales. Alexander IV extended the grant from Scotland for another three years. The collection of this grant was clearly unpopular, as in February 1256 Henry III had to issue a document stating that no 'prejudice [would] arise' for the Scottish king as a result.¹⁰⁷ It is worth keeping in mind that its unpopularity may have been the result of the 1251 meeting between Henry III and Alexander III, at which the latter had done homage for his English lands rather than due to the crusade itself.¹⁰⁸ In 1266 the same thing happened again. A tenth was collected in Wales without opposition, but in Scotland it was only to be paid with the consent of the Alexander III and his promise to participate in the crusade. Unsurprisingly, he refused, and when the pope ordered money to be paid and Henry III sent messengers north of the border in 1269, he refused yet again. It may be for this reason that Alexander refused entry into Scotland to the legate Ottobuono.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps he was wise to do so, as in the 1280s Edward I had redirected the money raised for the crusade to his wars in Wales, though in fairness the amount he spent was small and he had repaid it in two months.¹¹⁰ It was only in 1274, when the Council of Lyons ordered a general crusade tax, that the Scots agreed to contribute. In 1290, when Edward I was determined to show his power over the Scots, he demanded tithe money from the Scottish church. It refused to pay despite the threat of excommunication. 'Nonpayment', observes Tyerman, 'became a symbol of Scottish independence'.¹¹¹

The reluctance of the English clergy to fund a crusade to Sicily and the Latin Empire was reflected elsewhere in Britain and Ireland, as here taxation was resisted when it was not in favour of the Holy Land. In 1238 Gregory IX tried to collect a thirtieth for a crusade in favour of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and in the following year he demanded a fifth from foreign churchmen in England to fund his crusade against the Emperor Frederick II.¹¹² The first tax was not collected, but the second was agreed to by the clerics of England, Scotland and Ireland, despite their reservations.¹¹³ Innocent IV renewed the call for an aid against Frederick again in 1244, but this time both the king and the clergy opposed it. They stalled payment for two years and, despite the fact that the pope would not formally grant concessions, several of England's bishops started to collect the aid at a reduced rate. Henry III opposed collection, as he wanted money for his own crusade plans, and only relented and allowed

money for the crusade tax to leave England after the threat of interdict was raised. Once the collection had been allowed, Matthew Paris lamented:

Thus the whole effort of the magnates and the bishops came to nothing and the hope of liberating the kingdom and the English church faded miserably away, not without bitter grief in many hearts, and the longings of Roman avarice were satisfied with impunity with regard to the said contribution.¹¹⁴

The money for this crusade tax was also collected in Ireland, but here Henry fared no better, as a portion of the money disappeared in 1245; the bishop of Ardagh was the chief suspect. In 1247 the tax was collected in Scotland by a friar, while Clement, bishop of Dunblane, was asked to collect a twentieth from his clerics, as well as the money from the redemption of vows.¹¹⁵ This tax is easily the best documented from medieval Scotland. Opposition continued throughout the thirteenth century. When an Italian clerk, Baiamund de Vicia, was appointed tax collector in September 1274, he gathered a council at Perth to raise funds, but the collection met with opposition.¹¹⁶ Raising tax from Scotland to fund what were primarily English crusade ventures was unpopular. If money was raised for a Scottish crusade then it was more welcome, but if not it was seen as an extension of English attempts to interfere in Scotland.

Resistance to payment was not just part of Anglo-Scottish relations, as groups within England used crusade taxation as leverage for their own reasons. When Henry III requested a direct crusade tax in September 1268, the first on lay movables to be granted since 1237, he had to consult parliament on seven or eight occasions. He appears to have taken over the role of tax collector at this time because the papal legate, Ottobuono, was absent from England between 1268 and 1271. In 1269 parliamentary attendance included the knights and burgesses, giving them more of a voice and contributing to the rise of parliament at the end of the thirteenth century. They also managed to confirm rights granted by the Crown, as Henry probably only succeeded in securing the tax because he reissued Magna Carta and Forest Charter at the parliament of April 1270. After 1270, according to John Maddicott, 'the Crown never again secured a grant of direct taxation without going to an assembly in which the commons were represented.'¹¹⁷

The raising of funds for the crusades was a tricky affair. Individuals could only raise so much from their own means, and so the king and church became increasingly involved in demanding taxation. Under the pontificate of Innocent III papal control of funding increased and more taxes were levied, but the aims of the crusades and the relationship between England and her neighbours meant that many of these were resisted.

The Saladin Tithe, 1188

In 1188 Pope Clement III proclaimed the first compulsory crusade tax for the Holy Land. Aimed at raising money to fight against the rising might of the Muslim leader, Saladin, and his capture of Jerusalem in 1187, the tax became known as the Saladin Tithe. At a council in Le Mans (1188) with the French king Philip Augustus, Henry agreed for the tithe to be collected in his realm. Philip also wanted to collect the tax from France, but demands were met with such opposition that he had to abandon his plans and apologise for asking in the first place. In England, Henry had more success and the gathered tax was eventually paid to Richard I for his crusading activities.

The Saladin Tithe was a tax of 10 per cent on income and movables (the surplus income after essentials are paid for) from church and lay lands for one year. So that knights and clerks who did not go would still be able to fulfil their normal role, the ordinance declared:

This year each man shall give alms a tenth of his revenues and movables with the exception of the arms, horses and garments of the knights, and likewise with the exception of the horses, books, garments and vestments, and all appurtenances of whatever sort used by clerks in divine service, and the precious stones belonging to both clerks and laymen.¹¹⁸

Men assessed themselves, but if there was a quibble over the amount, then a system of four to six jurymen assessed him instead. It was a clearly organised affair, reflecting how systematic administration had become under Henry II, even in the rural parts of England.

The method for collecting the Tithe was clearly laid out, and a number of witnesses were engaged to oversee such large amounts of money. Collection required

the parish priest, the rural dean, one Knight Templar, one Knight Hospitaller, a servant of the lord king and the king's clerk, a servant of the baron and his clerk, and the clerk of the bishop.¹¹⁹

The role of the bishop's clerks is a reflection of the organisation of collection by dioceses, rather than by shires, which would have involved the assistance of the sheriff. The tax was first promulgated in early 1188, but some areas must have been slow to respond, as news of the collection of the tithe was published at parish level at the end of December. The base for at least part of the collection, instead of using the exchequer, was Salisbury, where there were ten tellers and clerks from the chancery.¹²⁰ Those who took the Cross were exempt from payment, so many vowed to join the crusade to avoid the tax, though they did not go. According to Roger of Howden, 'all the rich men of his [Henry II's] lands, both clergy and laity, rushed in crowds to take the cross.'¹²¹ Crusaders who did were supposed to receive the tithes from 'their lands and their men'.¹²² Those who refused or were unable to pay risked imprisonment until they could clear their debts.

Henry II also wanted Scotland to contribute to the Tithe, so in February 1188 he dispatched Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, to the Scottish king. William the Lion used the opportunity to request the return of Berwick and Roxburgh Castles in return for paying £2,666 and, though he may have been willing to pay if terms were agreed, his magnates were not, and King William rejected Henry's request. After some further debate, Henry's successor Richard I agreed to restore William's rights in return for payment. This agreement, the 'Quit-Claim of Canterbury' (5 December 1189), cancelled the Treaty of Falaise (1174) and gave Richard I 10,000 marks for his crusade. It also showed that, if handled properly, there was potential for England's neighbours to use demands for crusading monies as leverage in wider disputes.¹²³ William had successfully played on Richard's determination to raise crusading money to free himself from homage to the king, as Richard surrendered his lordship of Scotland. In Wales and Ireland no effort was made to collect the tenth.

According to Gervase of Canterbury, the Saladin Tithe brought in £70,000 for Richard I. J. H. Round has calculated that £6,000 is more likely, though as the records for the collection do not survive, this is only an estimate.¹²⁴ Some of the money may have gone awry; Gilbert de Hogestan, a Templar, was caught taking some of the collection for himself.¹²⁵ The Saladin Tithe was an unpopular tax, and churchmen such as Gerald of Wales were highly critical of it. He complained:

Oh, would that our princes had been worthy to set out on this expedition with the favour of the people and popular applause, with their provisions for the journey obtained justly, not extorted, with an open and generous hand, not a tight fist, and with a pure conscience, perfected by penitence, wholly lacking envy and arrogance....instead they lacked unity and concord and prided themselves in this struggle on their vast and varied financial resources, gathered in an indiscriminate way.¹²⁶

It certainly caused problems in London, where the additional tax put pressure on an already overburdened population. Importantly, for the developing history of English administration and taxation, the Tithe provided a model for future extraordinary taxation and paved the way for the extended use of crusade taxation in the following century. It also gave a model for raising the money needed to free Richard I from captivity in 1194, though this was an eye-watering 25 per cent of revenues and movables.

Conclusion

Recruitment from Britain and Ireland for the crusades was often a piecemeal affair. Local preaching in churches, the activities of itinerant friars and the pleas of visiting churchmen all appear to have recruited crusaders, and there were attempts at more widespread coordinated recruitment. The exception was the 1188 tour of Wales, which Gerald of Wales claimed inspired 3,000 men to take the Cross. Responses to crusade preaching varied and might have been influenced by the origins of the speakers themselves (whether native or incomer), as well as by their individual skills and the merits of their preaching. In order to support this last point, treatises on crusade sermons were written in the hope that they would produce results.

Despite this, some preachers failed to rouse their audiences, particularly when there were political implications to their efforts.

Financing for the crusade in Britain and Ireland came from a variety of sources. Initially, it was a matter of raising money on an individual basis. Lands were mortgaged, leased or sold, leading to changes in the land market in thirteenth-century England in particular. In the second half of the twelfth century, the English king began to levy taxes to assist the Holy Land and fund the crusades. Sometimes he was successful in extending requests for aid to Scotland, Ireland and Wales, though political differences, comparative poverty and the difficulty of collecting from some areas made this hard. One of the enduring impacts of raising crusade taxes by the crown was on parliament, which was increasingly consulted at the end of the thirteenth century on the matter of tax. The papacy had more luck in gathering taxes from the pontificate of Innocent III onwards, something that reflected wider European trends. These taxes were often levied on a reluctant clergy who were unwilling to contribute if they thought the king was going to misuse the resulting funds. The papacy, though, had a wide network of men it could call upon to oversee tax collection – bishops, abbots, legates, friars – and organised widespread systems for collection, so many areas of Britain and Ireland which had hitherto been unaffected by the crusade were pressed to contribute in the thirteenth century.

Chapter 3: Participation

When Urban II preached at Clermont in November 1095, he asked for assistance for the Holy Land. His intended target audience consisted of the nobles of Europe, those men whose violence the Church had been trying to regulate through the Peace and Truce of God Movements. For the nobility, a military caste for whom fighting was a pastime as well as a necessity, the crusade offered an ideal opportunity to engage in violence without earning the censure of the church; indeed, they would be rewarded for it. It is not surprising then that hundreds, if not thousands, of nobles from across Europe heeded Urban's call and set out for the East. According to Sigebert of Gembloux (c.1030–1112), the first crusaders

came together from all sides with a single spirit and without animosity, from Spain, Provence, Aquitaine, Brittany, Scotland, England, Normandy, France, Lorraine, Burgundy, Germany, Lombardy, Apulia, and from other lands; and armed with virtue and signed with the Holy Cross, they set out for the injuries of God against the enemies of the Christians.¹

Over the next two hundred years, groups from across Europe continued to go on crusade, funding and leading campaigns, recruiting men and supplying retinues.

Unfortunately, so potent was Urban's request that he also stirred up the passions of non-combatants who would be no help in the Holy Land. The first contingent to set out in April 1096, the Peasants' Crusade, was made up of peasants and low-ranking knights. They were travelling along the road to Nicaea when the Seljuk Turks

slaughtered them. In subsequent crusades non-combatant churchmen (as opposed to those who did fight), women, untrained youths, the sick and the infirm attached themselves to crusader armies. In 1212 peasants and shepherd boys, together with some counts, stirred by the preaching of the theologian Jacques de Vitry (c.1160–1240) against the Albigensians, set out for the Holy Land. They were strongly discouraged by the church authorities and in the end this Children's Crusade petered out, but it demonstrates that crusading enthusiasm was not confined to the knightly class or indeed to adults.² The mass movement of disorganised non-combatant crusaders was a continental phenomenon which was not experienced in Britain or Ireland, though small groups of merchants, traders, artisans and the religious did take part.

Of the thousands who took part in crusading, most went unrecorded. In part, this is because not all crusaders were of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the chroniclers or to be noted in administrative documents. There are also problems identifying who fulfilled their crusading vows. This is primarily because records of taking the vow often survive, but evidence of crusade participation does not. Moreover, later writers attributed crusading activity to some people even though they had not taken part in the crusades, either because someone wished to boost the heroism in their family tree or because propagandists wished to claim that someone was a crusader for political or legal reasons, as was the case with the twelfth-century earls of Warwick.³ From the known crusaders from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales it is, however, possible to discern which crusades attracted the most combatants, where those combatants came from and what motivated them to support the crusades, and what impact crusade participation had in Britain and Ireland before 1300.

Royalty

The most prominent crusaders were, unsurprisingly, kings and members of the royal family. The absence of the king or his heir abroad could have serious implications for the security of throne and kingdom as a whole, so their participation was potentially problematic. Some of the less-powerful royal leaders of Britain and Ireland could join the crusade with relatively little upset; such was the case when Lagman, king of the Western Isles (which became part of Scotland

in 1266) went to the Holy Land at the time of the First Crusade.⁴ For others it was not so easy. When David I of Scotland (1124–53), the only Scottish king to express interest in going on crusade, took the Cross, he was persuaded not to set out by ‘the clamour and outcry of the whole kingdom’.⁵

The first crusade to attract royal leadership in Britain and Ireland was the Third Crusade, planned by Henry II but ultimately led by his son, Richard I. Even before the Third Crusade was organised, Henry II had taken the Cross, and there were, understandably, hopes that he would lead a crusade of his own; this was certainly the wish of Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, who appealed to him in person at Clerkenwell. However, according to Ralph of Diss, dean of St Paul’s in London, Henry’s magnates wanted the king to stay at home:

It seemed better to all of them, and much for the safety of the king’s soul, that he should govern his kingdom with due care and protect it from the intrusion of foreigners and from external enemies, than that he should in his own person seek the preservation of the easterners.⁶

Henry himself refused to go on crusade in 1185 because the ‘barbarous Welsh and Scots’ were threatening England and he needed to stay at home to ensure its defence.⁷ Despite his refusal, Henry’s participation was a key part of the papal plan to help the Holy Land, and repeated efforts were made to recruit him. Belief that he would be willing to assist were not unfounded, as he supported the Holy Land over a long period of time. From 1166 onwards, Henry set aside money to help the Holy Land, but he did not allow it to be spent. In 1172 he began to send overseas large amounts of money, which he planned to spend when he reached the Holy Land. He was ordered to go on crusade as penance for his part in Thomas Becket’s murder, but his vow was commuted by the pope, and in 1177 he signed the Treaty of Nonancourt with the French king, in which they agreed to go on crusade together. In the 1180s it was still hoped that Henry would thus lead a crusade. He was the ideal choice, as Henry was the grandson of Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem (r.1131–43), and cousin to Baldwin IV, the leprous king of Jerusalem. He was a strong and vigorous king, whose family connections gave him a claim to the throne of the Holy City. Henry, however, could not be moved.⁸

Henry's death in July 1189 meant that the mantle of leadership passed to his son Richard, who had taken the Cross in November 1187 while still count of Poitou. The chronicler Richard of Devises claims that Richard was 'unwilling to be the last in setting out', and so every effort was put into recruiting for the crusade and raising money to pay for the venture.⁹ His leadership of the crusade marked a turning point in English crusading, as from this time onwards more crusades became royal enterprises, centrally organised and funded by revenue gathered by the crown. At the time of the Third Crusade, the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland had already occurred, and a preaching tour in Wales had tried to recruit fighters there. It is interesting, then, to find reference to an Irish 'king' and a Welsh 'king' who took part in the Third Crusade. According to the monk Alberic of Trois Fontaines (*fl.* c.1230–41), they served with Richard I and the Count of Holland.¹⁰ As there is no record of this Irish 'king' in any of the crusader sources, it is safe to conclude that if Alberic's account was correct, the information came from a now-lost source, such as a personal letter or through oral testimony. It is not possible to determine who this Irish king could have been – Ireland's wide range of high and low kings, and the nature of the surviving sources, make it impossible to identify possible absentees. In Wales, there were no longer any kings, only princes, and they too are hard to trace, though there is no suggestion that they led any crusade armies at this time. Several of the princes who heard Baldwin's preaching tour did take the Cross, and Rhys ap Gruffydd even prepared to depart, but in the end their vows were not fulfilled.¹¹

In the thirteenth century, the first royal crusading enterprise was led by Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, in 1240 as part of the Sixth Crusade. As the richest earl in England and brother to the king he was a powerful figure, and his proposed absence was a cause for concern – so much so that the pope (prompted by Henry III) wrote to warn him of the dangers. Richard was, until the birth of Henry's heir, Edward, in June 1239, heir presumptive. Despite attempts to keep Richard at home, and then to divert his crusading energies to assist the Latin Empire of Constantinople, he eventually set out and reached Acre on 8 October 1240. He did not engage in any great military activity, but his negotiating and diplomatic skills meant that the crusade was a success of sorts. In addition to the numerous nobles who accompanied Richard on the crusade, he was joined by his half-sister's stepson, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (d.1282), grandson of

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, and the last prince of Wales. According to the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, Llywelyn went on crusade in 1240 with Richard of Cornwall. Llywelyn's uncle John the Scot had also taken the Cross, though he died in 1237.¹² Although his participation is generally overlooked, Llywelyn disappears from the Welsh records at the time of the crusade, and it is entirely likely that he did participate. At the time, however, he was too young to provide any leadership in this crusade, and although he held royal status, he was very much a minor member of the earl's retinue.

Although he never went to the Holy Land, Henry III, who had first taken the Cross in 1216, overshadowed crusading from England in the middle years of thirteenth century. In 1245 he declared that he was not able to fulfil his vow because of problems with his neighbours. In March 1250 Henry III took the Cross once more, and several of his nobles met the following month to organise their own crusading expedition.¹³ The pope held out hope that Henry III would assist the Holy Land in some way, and in 1260 he appealed to Henry's son, the Lord Edward, to persuade his father to help in a crusade against the Mongols. Throughout his reign, however, Henry III only hindered crusading plans by diverting crusading energies and finances into his planned conquest of Sicily and by forbidding his nobles to leave England to serve under the French crusader king, Louis IX. He claimed to be suspicious of the French king, and according to Matthew Paris, he complained:

I suspect the king of the French; I suspect more the king of the Scots; clearly prince [Dafydd] of Wales opposes me. The pope protects insurgents against me.¹⁴

Despite Henry's reluctance to allow promotion of Louis's crusade, in the end preaching did take place and some men joined the crusade, including Alexander Giffard and Guy of Lusignan. Most prominent among these was William Longespee II, who led the contingent that left England in 1249, accompanied by Robert de Vere and up to two hundred knights as well as some paid sergeants.¹⁵ He was killed at Mansourah in 1250 and his body was interred at the cathedral in Acre.

As part of his efforts to restore peace to England after years of civil war, the papal legate promoted the crusade of 1270–72. The crusade

was going to be led by Louis IX of France (his second crusade venture), but there would also be a recruitment drive in England. Preaching got underway, but it was the parliament at Northampton, in June 1268, which really gave the crusade a boost. At this meeting, both of the king's sons, Edward and Edmund, took the Cross, together with several of the leading nobles of England. It was surprising that Henry allowed Edward to both take the Cross and actually fulfil his vow, as the state of England at the time was far from secure and only a few months earlier the pope had advised the prince to abandon his plans for crusade, as his father needed his assistance at home; Richard of Cornwall had faced stronger opposition when he had chosen to go on crusade. Edward was a capable military commander although his father was not and, above all, heir to the throne, and Henry had been reliant on him for military matters during the baronial war (1264–67). The contingents that left England under Henry's sons were intended to serve under King Louis, but after he died at Tunis in August 1270, the Lord Edward continued to the Holy Land under his own steam. In his army were many of the nobles of England, as well as a large group of his vassals from Gascony.

Although the crusade of 1270–72 did not achieve a great deal, Edward's experiences in the Holy Land had an impact on his position as king of England. The debate over quite what that impact was has varied, but the crusade clearly developed Edward's military capabilities, teaching him about the logistics of organising a large campaign and the importance of using contracts in military matters. Two of Edward's biographers, Maurice Powicke and Michael Prestwich, noted the crusade's influence, one believing that it taught Edward about the dangers of factionalism among his elites, the other that it allowed Edward to form strong bonds with his followers who would serve him during his reign. Otto de Grandison, for example, became one of Edward's most trusted men, and Joseph, the prior of the Hospitallers, became Edward's treasurer.¹⁶

In 1276 Edward I promised to go on crusade once more. Although there is no doubt that Edward was sincere, he was probably also motivated by the promise that six-year tax collected from 1274 onwards would be given to any king who would participate. He took the Cross again in 1287. In the end Edward did not go, distracted by his wars in Wales and Scotland. He may have intended to fulfil his second vow, and the papacy could have been counting on him

to do so. In a song written after Edward's death in 1307, the pope is supposed to have lamented:

Jerusalem though hast lost
The flower of all chivalry;
Now king Edward lives no more:–
Alas! That he yet should die!
He would have reared up full high
Our banners, that are brought to the ground;
Very long we may call and cry
Before we have found such a king!¹⁷

Edward the prince had succeeded in leaving England for the crusade, but when he became king it appears that it was harder for him to leave his kingdom, and his later crusade plans went unfulfilled.

Nobles and Knights

The greatest number of recorded crusaders from Britain and Ireland came from among the nobles and members of the knightly class, who served in the armies of kings and princes or sometimes led crusading contingents of their own. At the time of the First Crusade, the Normans who had conquered England in 1066 were still, to some extent, settling the lands that they had won, and in some areas, notably in Wales and along the Welsh March, they were still in conflict. Participation from among the English nobles at this time was thus 'slight but specialised', as several Anglo-Normans and Anglo-Bretons from England joined the crusade under the leadership of Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, elder brother of King William Rufus, a reflection of strong links with the duchy which remained at the end of the eleventh century.¹⁸ Pagan Peverel, from the area around Huntingdon, acted as Curthose's standard-bearer.¹⁹ William of Percy, who founded Whitby Priory, travelled from England, and there were thirty English ships in the Holy Land in 1098.²⁰ Ivo of Grandmesnil, who held lands in the very north of England, and the English landowner Philip the Grammarian, who had fled to Normandy after being implicated in the rebellion of Robert de Mowbray in 1095, also went. The Anglo-Norman monk, Orderic Vitalis (c.1075–1142) claimed that Ivo, 'would never recover the king's friendship that he

had lost, so he decided to go on crusade'.²¹ The exiled uncle of King William Rufus, Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, set out on the crusade but died in Palermo in January 1097.²² Ernulf of Hesdin was another disgraced English landowner who joined the crusade. Not all of Robert's supporters were fleeing the wrath of William Rufus. Using crusading as a means of escape appears to have been common among the nobility at this time.

Edgar the Æthling, the most prominent Anglo-Saxon participant in the crusades, also took part in the First Crusade. Edgar had been a claimant to the English throne in 1066; after William's victory at Hastings, Edgar was initially in favour, but he fled to Scotland in 1068 and rebelled against William in 1069–70.²³ In 1074 the two men were reconciled, though Edgar fell out with the king again in 1086 and travelled to Apulia. He returned to England and became friends with Robert Curthose, whose claim to the throne he supported in 1087. The dates of his crusade activity are, however, uncertain. Despite Orderic Vitalis's assertion that Edgar took the city of Antioch 'under his protection' and gave it to Robert Curthose, it is more probable that he went to the Holy Land in 1102, as recorded by William of Malmesbury.²⁴ During the period of the First Crusade, Edgar was too preoccupied with affairs in Scotland to join the main armies. Edgar was accompanied by another Englishman, Robert son of Godwine of Winchester, who was martyred in Cairo after his capture at the siege of Ramleh.²⁵ Another Anglo-Saxon in Scotland, the brother of the Roxburghshire landowner Thor Magnus, may also have joined the First Crusade, though evidence is far from conclusive.²⁶

The successes of the First Crusade and the need to continue to defend and consolidate the crusader states prompted further noble participation in the first decades of the twelfth century.

Philip de Braose, the Cymro-Norman lord of Builth and Radnor, went in c.1103.²⁷ During the same period the Castellan of Radnor Castle also went to the Holy Land. He had angered God by sheltering with his dogs in the church of Llanafan and had been struck blind. He decided to go to Jerusalem, where,

[s]urrounded by a group of his friends, he had himself armed and, sitting on a strong warhorse, he was conducted by his men to where the war was being fought. He charged forward in the front line, but was immediately struck down by a blow from a sword so ended his life with honour.²⁸

In 1128 the Welsh chronicles record the journey of Morgan ap Cadwgan, who went to Jerusalem in remorse for murdering of his brother. The timing of the journey suggests that he could have been influenced by the appeal for crusaders made by Hugh de Payens, Master of the Temple, in the same year.²⁹

The first Irish nobles also took part in the crusades during this period. These were noblemen from Ulster, who stopped to visit the Benedictine community at Regensburg (Germany) on their way to the Holy Land. According to the thirteenth-century *Libellus de fundacione ecclesiae Consecrati Petri*, these 'certain powerful counts' were 'signed with the Cross' and were on their way to Rome and Jerusalem.³⁰ The nobles had been sent with gifts for the German community at Ratisbon by Connor O'Brien (1118-42), king of Thomond (the northern part of Munster).

The Second Crusade (1147-49) was launched during a time of uncertainty in England, as civil war between Stephen and the Empress Matilda meant that many of England's nobles were too embroiled in domestic conflict to go abroad. Although an English conflict, the war also made its presence felt in Scotland, as Matilda's uncle, King David I, took his niece's side, and her supporters along the Welsh March took part in pivotal battles such as that at Lincoln, with hundreds of Welsh fighters in their armies. The civil war had a detrimental impact on involvement, and the role played by the leading men of the realm was slight. Those who did take the Cross, such as Roger de Clinton, bishop of Chester, may have done so to escape the domestic situation. Waleran of Meulan, earl of Worcester, led the Anglo-Norman contingent that joined Louis VII of France. He took part in order to be close Louis, as he had large estates in Normandy that bordered those of the French king.³¹ His half-brother, William of Warenne, earl of Surrey, accompanied him and was killed at the Battle of Cadmus (Anatolia) in January 1148.³² Walter FitzGilbert of Clare and William Peverel of Dover took part, the latter 'repenting of the woes and the sufferings that he had pitilessly brought on the people' during the civil war.³³ Roger de Mowbray from Yorkshire also took the Cross, having lost lands in England and Normandy during the civil war under Stephen. According to the chronicler John of Hexham, Roger 'won renowned fame by conquering, in single combat, a pagan king'.³⁴ Walter FitzGilbert de Clare of Maldon joined the crusaders and thus escaped a pending legal case, and Hugh Tirel mortgaged his manor near Colchester for 100 marks to fund his own journey.³⁵

No Scottish or Welsh nobles took part in this crusade, though the idea of a noble Irish participant was readily accepted. The twelfth-century *St Patrick's Purgatory* had, as its central character, an Irishman who had served in the civil wars under King Stephen in England, who went on crusade to Jerusalem as part of his penance for the sin of fighting. According to the Latin version of this tale, written by Marie de France, Owain

recounted what he had seen
And they set it down in writing.
He then became a crusader out of love
And honour for God his creator
Whom he wished to seek in the place
Where the Jews condemned him
He went out to Jerusalem.³⁶

Although it was a literary work, it suggests that the idea of crusading from Ireland was plausible.

The failure of the Second Crusade led to a period of criticism for crusading in general in the years after 1149. Churchmen and theologians wrote of the sins of the crusaders and the failure of their aims, and for a time the crusades were subject to attack. However, the spiritual rewards of the journey and the challenge of fighting the infidels were still an attractive combination, and many men paid no attention to the debates within the Church, taking the Cross and joining Christians in the East to fight. In the 1160s Gilbert de Lacy, lord of Ludlow, joined the Templars in the Holy Land, and in 1177 William de Mandeville, third earl of Essex, went to the Holy Land in the retinue of the count of Flanders.³⁷ From England, the most famous crusader from the period between the Second and Third Crusades was William Marshal (c.1146–1219), a landless younger son who was to become earl of Pembroke and regent of England. William Marshal succeeded in attracting the attention of the Angevin king and queen, and in 1170 he became tutor to Young King Henry (1155–83), the son and heir of Henry II, with the hope that his martial skills would teach the future monarch something valuable. After years of rebellion, Young Henry vowed that he would undertake a crusade, as he had sinned against his father. There was a certain amount of hyperbole in his offer, and it seems unlikely that he would really have fulfilled it, as Henry may have taken the Cross for the protection it

afforded him as a rebel. In the end, an attack of conscience on his deathbed led him to charge William Marshal with fulfilling this vow in his place. Henry II gave him forty marks for his expenses, and he spent two years on crusade.³⁸

The first crusade to attract nobles and knights in significant numbers was the Third Crusade; this was due largely to the leadership of Richard I, as many of the men who joined the crusade from England were already in royal service, some from England but also many from the continent who had served him before he became king.³⁹ Bertram de Verdun was Henry II's seneschal in Ireland; Geoffrey de Hay was an official under Henry II; Gilbert Pipard was sheriff of Lancaster; Henry Turpin was a former chamberlain of Henry II; and Ralph FitzGodfrey was a royal chamberlain. Richard also took his chaplain, Anselm.⁴⁰ Ranulph de Glanville, justiciar until 1189, may have taken part in the crusade in the hope of regaining royal favour. Local knights went from almost all of the counties in England, as did English settlers in Wales. Gerald of Wales complained that he was later reprimanded by the king 'because by his preaching he had emptied his lands of all the strength of men that was his defence against the Welsh'.⁴¹

Others joined the English army but were not directly in royal service. Robert of Breteuil, earl of Leicester (c.1130-90), travelled independently, even though he was close to the king. Robert de Creverquer of Kent delayed his departure until 1191 but took his servants, including his cook, Salomon, and a retainer called Amfrido.⁴² Roger of Mowbray, who had participated in the Second Crusade, once again travelled to Jerusalem.⁴³

Two named participants from Ireland came from among the newly settled Hiberno-Normans. Bertram de Verdun, seneschal of Ireland, and lord of Dundalk and Cooley in County Louth, was one of the leaders who besieged Acre in 1191; he was in charge of the captured city when Richard I's army marched further south, and he later died at Jaffa.⁴⁴ Gilbert Pipard, lord of Ardee in County Louth died at Brindisi on his way to the Holy Land.⁴⁵ Other crusaders *allegedly* took part, though there is no contemporary evidence: Oliver Martin of Galway is supposed to have earned his arms from Richard for his service on crusade, as was a member of the Esmonde family of Ballynastragh, County Wexford. Con Costello suggests that Hay de Valle of Rathoe, County Carlow, also joined this crusade, citing as indicative the fact that his successor was called Jordan, but there is no proof.⁴⁶ Geoffrey de Montmorency, husband of Christiana of Riddlesford of Bray, is also supposed to have joined the crusade either during the 1190s or in the

1220s, but the identification appears to rest solely on his cross-legged effigy and his decision to name his third son Jordan.⁴⁷

The Third Crusade was the first time prominent men from Scotland took part in the crusades. Robert de Quincy held lands in Fife, and on his return he may have been responsible for founding the Hospital of the Church of Bethlehem in East Lothian. It is possible, however, that it was founded before 1185. Osbert Olifard of Arbuthnott, sheriff of Mearns under Malcolm IV, took part, as did Alan, son of Walter the Steward (c.1150–1204). A small retinue, perhaps made of his tenants, accompanied Alan. Ivo of Vieuxpont, a tenant in Scotland, joined Richard's service with ten men.⁴⁸ The belief that David, earl of Huntingdon, joined Richard I's contingent is incorrect, as none of the Scottish earls took part, and support from the Scots king was not forthcoming, as he used Richard I's crusade preparations to secure former Scottish castles. The limited number of nobles and knights from Scotland was perhaps unsurprising, as recent Anglo-Scottish relations had been fraught, and William the Lion had only just quelled strong opposition from Gilbert of Galloway.

From Wales, Welsh and Cymro-Norman lords allegedly took part, though the sources referring to them are sometimes hard to corroborate. Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr, a relative of the Lord Rhys, was so moved by the preaching that he declared, 'What man of spirit can hesitate for a moment to undertake this journey?'⁴⁹ Hector, a young man from Radnorshire, was prompted to take the Cross by Archbishop Baldwin.⁵⁰ Both Simon de Wale and William of Camvill, the Cymro-Norman constable of Llanstephan Castle, drowned at Acre.⁵¹

Although recruitment efforts for the Fourth Crusade (1204) did not have much of an impact on Britain and Ireland, there were still a few notable crusaders who left England in the first years of the thirteenth century from among the knightly class. Henry Longchamp, former sheriff of Herefordshire and Worcestershire and brother of the chancellor of England, left for the crusade in 1202, while Robert of Leaveland, warden of the Fleet Prison in London, left the year before.⁵² Robert de Marisco of Cornwall went in place of his father, equipped with '20 marks and 22 besants, one gold ring, one shield, one pair of iron spurs, one horse, one helmet, one sword, and one cloak of scarlet'.⁵³ David Rufus of Forfar also went on crusade in 1202 and died in the East.⁵⁴ Those who took part at this time did not necessarily join the main crusader army that sailed from Venice via Zara to Constantinople and sacked the city in 1204.

It was during the Fifth Crusade that the leadership of the crusades from England passed to its nobles; this was largely because Henry III, although he had taken the Cross, was in no position to lead his own crusade, but also because Innocent III had appealed to nobles rather than kings to lead the crusades so that some measure of papal control could be reinstated. The most prominent of the crusade's noble leaders was Ranulf, earl of Chester, whom King John had appointed regent of England in his will. Ranulf left England in 1219 accompanied by as many as one hundred knights, and many of the identifiable crusaders at this time have links to him.⁵⁵ Before his departure, he concluded a peace with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, prince of Gwynedd, so that his western frontier would be protected during his absence abroad.⁵⁶ John de Lacy, his nephew, was constable of Chester, and William d'Aubigny, earl of Arundel, was his brother-in-law.⁵⁷ Other great noblemen who participated were Brian de Lisle; the earls of Derby, Hereford, Winchester and Oxford; Oliver, King John's illegitimate son; and Robert FitzWalter, a leader of the barons who had rebelled against the king. At this time a small group also went on crusade to the south of France, where they fought the Albigensian heresy under Simon de Montfort.⁵⁸ The Anglo-Scottish Saher de Quincy, son and heir of the third crusader Robert de Quincy, fulfilled his own crusade vow in 1218, as did William de Somerville of Clydesdale.⁵⁹ Saher equipped a ship in Galloway and sailed to Damietta with his son, Robert FitzWalter, and William, earl of Arundel. In 1220 Irishmen were serving under the German Emperor Frederick II; they died in captivity on crusade.⁶⁰ Áedh mac Conchobhair Máennhaighe Ó Conchobhair, heir to the kingdom of Connacht, also travelled to the Holy Land in the early 1220s.⁶¹ The rise in activity was complemented by the only Anglo-Irish crusade activity against the Cathars in southern France, where, from 1209 to 1216, Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, fought alongside Simon de Montfort.⁶²

In 1240 the crusade led by Richard of Cornwall and the parallel expeditions of William of Forz (Yorkshire) and Simon de Montfort attracted a significant number of nobles; it is sometimes referred to as 'The Barons' Crusade'. Over twenty other nobles had taken the Cross alongside Richard in Winchester 1236; his wealth and status meant that attracting such followers was not surprising. Simon de Montfort led a half-English, half-French army, while William de Forz led a group of Poitevins and Englishmen.⁶³ There appears to have been increasing interest in joining the crusades from among the nobility in the mid-1230s as a whole, as Ednyfed Fychan (d.1246),

seneschal of Gwynedd, took the Cross in 1235. Admittedly, he appears to have got no further than London, where Henry III gifted him with a silver cup, but the fact that such an important man at least set out says a lot about the strength of the principality in the 1230s.⁶⁴ Another crusader from Wales at this time was Ralph de Teoni of Painscastle (Powys), who travelled with a French contingent in 1239.⁶⁵ This crusade, like the Fifth, was largely driven by familial and social links, though unlike the Fifth there was no attempt to recruit for a more general *passagium*, though some sources suggest that common people took part.⁶⁶

In the same year there was a flourishing of interest in the crusades from among the Scottish nobility, though interestingly they chose to join the crusade under the leadership of Louis IX of France instead of Richard of Cornwall. Peter de Brus II and Peter de Laulay both joined the crusade, as did David Lindsaye of Glenesk, Walter Stewart of Dundonald and John Stewart, who travelled to join Louis under Patrick, earl of Dunbar. Patrick died in the summer of 1248 at Marseilles. The Master of the Templars in Scotland also took part, and Thomas de Normanville, 'baron of the king of Scotland', was described as a crusader in 1248.⁶⁷ In 1250 Richard Giffard, a relative of the Scottish king, was planning to go to the Holy Land 'with five knights at his own expense'.⁶⁸ More Scots must have taken the Cross during this period, as they were given permission to commute their vows in September 1251.⁶⁹

Civil war in England once again preoccupied England's nobles in the mid-thirteenth century, while Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, prince of Gwynedd, used the weakened position of Henry III to his advantage by expanding his power and territory in Wales. In Scotland, the minority of Alexander III and the ensuing struggle for control among the Scottish magnates meant that the middle years of the thirteenth century were not ideal for a crusading absence. The last great flourishing of noble crusading did not come until 1270, when the Lords Edward and Edmund joined Louis IX on crusade. The army that accompanied them was made up of nobles who had supported the royal cause during the civil war, such as the princes' uncle William de Valence, their cousin Henry of Almain, and the royal servants Brian de Brampton, Adam de Monte Alto and Hamo L'Estrange.

The crusade was supported in England, at least in part, as a way of promoting peace between royalists and rebels by giving them a common cause. However, only a handful of former rebels, such as John de Vescy and Nicholas of Seagrave, took the Cross, and of these,

only one was funded by Edward. Many rebels could not, of course, afford to join the crusade, as they were involved in trying to buy back lost estates. The chronicler William Rishanger, however, suggested that most rebels did not take the Cross 'since this would allow foreigners to invade the land' while they were away.⁷⁰

Despite this problem, there was a significant number of participants, many of whom were drawn from areas of which Edward was lord. More Anglo-Irish nobles, for example, took part than at any previous time, due in large part to Edward's lordship in Ireland. Geoffrey de Geneville was an Irish landholder and a member of the Irish Council.⁷¹ His brother, William de Geneville, was vicar of Ardnurcher, County West Meath. James de Audley, the Irish justiciar, took the Cross but broke his neck in Thomond on 23 June 1272 before he could fulfil his vow. Richard de la Rochelle (d.1276) went accompanied by his clerk John Fífhide; and at least ten other important Irish landholders intended to join the crusade under the Lord Edward.⁷²

Participation in the Lord Edward's crusade was high among the nobility because the English Crown offered incentives on top of those offered by the pope: protection for lands and possessions; the right to sell or lease lands which they would not otherwise be allowed to dispose of; and the suspension of court cases.⁷³ Although these privileges were widely offered in Europe, in England they had previously been subject to royal intervention, so to have them offered in return for a crusading vow was a great motivating factor.⁷⁴ There are several records of these grants in the *Patent Rolls* of Henry III, including this one to Thomas Maudut, tenant-in-chief of the king:

License for Thomas Maudut, who is going with Edward the king's son to the Holy Land, to lease his manor of Werminstre [Warminster] which he holds with his other lands in chief, for four years from Michaelmas [July 12, 1270].⁷⁵

Henry III offered the same privileges to his son:

Since our son Edmund, a crusader, has vowed to go overseas in aid of the Holy Land, we undertake the protection and defence of the men, lands, rents, incomes and all possessions of... Edmund... We promise therefore that the same Edmund... shall be quit of all pleas and actions of court, from when he may derive nothing; of assizes of novel disseisin; and of all further presentments.⁷⁶

The crusade of 1270 had the highest number of noble participants from Scotland; in this respect, Scotland's elite were far behind their English counterparts. The reason for the rise at the end of the thirteenth century is not clear, but Donald Matthew suggests that 'the marriage of Alexander II's widow, Marie de Courcy, to John, son of the King of Jerusalem, in 1257 may have stirred fresh interest in the crusading movement.'⁷⁷

On the whole, noble participation was slight. According to Michael Brown, the low number of Scottish crusaders was because the 'costs and risks of these ventures' was off-putting, although, as many poorer members of European society took part, this cannot be held entirely accountable for the low levels of participation.⁷⁸ Members of the Brus family were prompted to take the Cross through their links to the earl of Gloucester, who made a crusade vow but failed to fulfil it; the earl was Robert the Brus V's brother-in-law.⁷⁹ Robert the Brus V (1220–95) joined the contingent led by Edmund, while his sons Robert VI and Richard left before him with the Lord Edward. The Balliol family was the other important family represented on this crusade. Alexander Balliol and Adam, earl of Carrick, took the Cross at this time.⁸⁰ Eustace and Ingram de Balliol, possibly father and son, also joined the crusaders; they may have been accompanied by another relative, Hugh.⁸¹ A knight 'of Scottish origin' called Alexander de Seton was with the Lord Edward in the East, and John de Vescy, lord of Alnwick and Sprouston (Kelso) went. The Robert le Scot who joined the Templars in Caesarea was presumably a Scottish crusader.⁸² Several Scottish crusaders went but did not make it home: David Strathbogie, earl of Atholl, died of the plague at Tunis in 1270, and Adam de Julconquhar, earl of Carrick, died at Acre the following year.⁸³

It can reasonably be expected that each of these great men from Scotland, as elsewhere, took a retinue that would have included Scotsmen. Alexander de Seton took a squire called Nicholas, who did not make it back from the crusade. When the Lord Edward led a raid on a group of Saracens at Caconia, Nicholas was one of the party. According to the *Chronicle of Melrose Abbey*:

This esquire, carrying his master's shield behind him on a horse, had withdrawn a little from the company of Christians, in order to relieve himself and was immediately captured by a few pagans... The Christians did not from that day see the esquire whom the pagans carried off with them.⁸⁴

In the case of Robert de Brus of Annandale, surviving records show men in his service who went on crusade with him from Scotland. In the witness list to the charter issued while on return from crusade, the names of several men appear: Adam de Torthorwald, steward of Annandale; Robert de Herries; William de Saint Michael; Adam de Kirkeudbright; William de Duncorry; William de Corri; Adam Hendeman; Richard de Crispin; and William de Ayr, a clerk.⁸⁵ If each nobleman took such a retinue, then there were many more nameless Scottish crusaders in the early 1270s.

The crusade of 1270 was the last major crusading enterprise to depart from Britain and Ireland. There was a brief flourishing of interest at the end of the thirteenth century at the time when Edward I was planning his second crusade. Otto de Grandison, who held lands in England, Ireland and Wales, led a contingent to the East and was at Acre in 1290. Several men gained permission to travel with Otto, including Alexander de Esselington; Robert de Cadebury, canon of St Andrews (Wells); and William of Chester, parson of the church of Great Acle. The earl of Gloucester and his wife, Joan of Acre and Sir Robert of Thateshales all took the Cross, though it is not clear if any of them actually went on crusade.⁸⁶ Robert de Nevill, Gerard de Freyner and Simon le Taillur, the king's yeomen, gained protection to go to Jerusalem in 1290, and William de Henley, master of the Hospitallers in England, travelled in the company of two other men.⁸⁷ From among the nobles of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, not one noble crusader emerged, perhaps because (in Scotland and Wales, at least) warfare with Edward I meant that they were too busy to contemplate another crusade. Robert I, king of Scots, (1274–1329) son of Robert VI of Annandale, continued the family enthusiasm for crusading. Although he did not take the Cross, Robert asked for his heart to be taken to the Holy Land for burial, perhaps at the Holy Sepulchre, and to be carried into battle against god's enemies.⁸⁸

The Religious

Members of the Church were well represented throughout the crusades, despite the church's insistence that religious men and women should not be involved in the shedding of blood. Admittedly, many churchmen fulfilled non-combative roles on crusade, though many also took up arms. The most senior churchman to participate

was Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, but his contribution to the field was limited, as he died at Acre on 19 November 1190. His involvement may have been the spur for other churchmen from England to join the Third Crusade, as there were a significant number of the religious with Richard's army – so many that that the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* felt the need to comment on it:

A great number went from the cloister to camp, threw off their cowls, donned mailshirts, and became knights of Christ in a new sense, replacing alms with arms.⁸⁹

Baldwin's nephew, the poet John of Exeter, who was meant to write an account of the crusade, accompanied him, and Baldwin's advisor Peter of Blois (c.1125–1212) joined the crusade, though Peter's crusading interest pre-dated Baldwin's and he left England before him. In the years immediately before the launch of the Third Crusade, Peter had become increasingly passionate about the need for a new crusade. He attributed the fall of Jerusalem to 'the nobility's obsession with the vanities of the world'.⁹⁰

There were many bishops amongst the ranks of crusaders. Roger de Clinton, bishop of Chester, joined the Second Crusade. Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, was at Acre in 1190 and took part in fighting, while Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, fulfilled administrative functions during the crusade. Robert, bishop of Bath and Wells, aimed to set out for the Holy Land in 1288 'with a fitting body of soldiers'.⁹¹ In 1227 the bishop of Elphin in Ireland became a crusader.⁹² Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, set out on crusade in the summer of 1227 in the company of his friend William Brewer, bishop of Exeter. Peter des Roches had by this time fallen out with Henry III, and the crusade was an ideal way to extricate himself and fulfil a vow he had made several years earlier; William appears to have accompanied him not to escape but to fulfil the vow of his uncle, whose recent legacy of 4,000 silver marks made it financially possible. Peter led the English contingent in the East and was assisted in the fortification of the key castles of Sidon, Ascalon and Jaffa. His close relationship with Emperor Frederick II during the crusade led him to the imperial court, and he did not return to England until 1231.⁹³ Episcopal leadership of the English crusaders in 1227 was a marked difference to previous crusades, which had been focused on baronial leadership.⁹⁴ A bishop from Ireland (although himself a German)

also made a contribution to the crusades, though, unusual for those with an interest in crusading from Britain or Ireland, he made his mark in the Baltic. Albert Suerbeer, archbishop of Armagh, resigned his see to become legate to Russia and the Baltic countries (1246-50) and then legate-archbishop of Riga (1254-73).⁹⁵ Many other bishops took the Cross but did not set out, such as Pandulph, bishop of Norwich, and Thomas Bek, bishop of St David's.⁹⁶ In 1289 Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells and the king's advisor, aimed to set out for the Holy Land 'with a fitting body of soldiers' alongside the Lord Edward in 1270 but stayed behind in order to act as one of the four 'lieutenants of the Lord Edward', but even then he does not appear to have fulfilled his vow.⁹⁷

From lower down the church hierarchy there were yet more crusaders. Ralph of Alta Ripa, archdeacon of Colchester, fought at Acre in 1190 despite the church's strictures on ecclesiastical warfare. According to the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, Ralph, 'renowned for both his learning and his feat of arms...performed a great many remarkable feats'.⁹⁸ Roger of Howden, a parson for Yorkshire who served as clerk at the king's court, also joined the crusade, an account of which he included in his *Gesta Henrici II Benedicti abbatis*, though Roger was more interested in diplomatic than martial affairs.⁹⁹ Although largely absent from his living, he probably joined a contingent of his fellow Yorkshire men, as he appears as a witness on a charter issued in the East in favour of the Templars made by John de Hessele, a Yorkshire man.¹⁰⁰ The priest of Bromholm in Norfolk was in the Holy Land on the eve of the Fourth Crusade; William of Chester, parson of the church of Great Acle (Norfolk), went in 1290; and although the bishops of St Andrews did not join the crusade themselves, there was sufficient interest in the plight of the Holy Land in the episcopal community for one former clerk, Richard de Thony, to join the crusade in c.1240, and for a canon of the cathedral, Robert de Cadebury, to travel with Otto de Grandison 50 years later.¹⁰¹

There was also healthy representation from among the monastic orders on crusade. Roger, a monk of St Albans, went on the Fourth Crusade.¹⁰² Robert, prior of Hereford, was in the Holy Land in 1192, but this was in the capacity of a messenger carrying letters to the king from William, bishop of Ely, rather than as a crusader. The Abbot of York obtained letters of protection for a three-year absence on crusade in 1218.¹⁰³ Others wanted to join the crusade but were denied permission; Henry II, for example, refused Abbot Samson of Bury St

Edmunds his permission. Many religious people who took the Cross must have gone unrecorded, as their absence was causing such a problem that in 1195 a council at York declared that monks, nuns and canons could not go on crusade without good reason.¹⁰⁴

Knights, Merchants and the 'Middling Sort'

Many of the men who made up the armies of the crusades remain nameless, though they far outnumbered their more prominent leaders. Most of these men came from the lower knightly classes, from among merchants and traders, and are referred to from the time of the First Crusade onwards. Crusaders from England, Ireland and Wales fought in the entourage of the French Lord of Thouars on the First Crusade, and the monk William of Malmesbury included Welshmen and Scotsmen in his crusade account, while Ekkehard of Aura, Otto of Freising and Sigebert of Gembloux all included a range of people in their lists of combatants.¹⁰⁵ The earliest Scottish contribution to the crusades came from a large but individually unidentifiable group of men who took part in the Second Crusade. Although this crusade is usually seen as the crusade of Louis VII, made up largely of French and German crusaders, there was a contingent that sailed around the Iberian Peninsula, *en route* to the Holy Land, who were diverted by the pleas of the bishop of Oporto to help the Christians of Lisbon. When asked by Alfonso of Portugal if they would assist him against the Moors, the Scots [*Scottis*] 'very willingly gave their consent'. Hervey de Glanville, addressing those who were fighting amongst themselves as to whether they should stay or continue to Jerusalem, praised the Scots for their decisiveness in assisting and remaining united, saying, 'Who, indeed, would deny that the Scots are barbarians? Yet among us in this enterprise they have never overstepped the bounds of due friendship.'¹⁰⁶ The Scots that stayed in Portugal contributed to the fall of Lisbon in October 1147, the only real success of the Second Crusade.¹⁰⁷

From among the lower knightly and merchant class in England, the Second Crusade attracted a number of combatants who travelled independently of the Anglo-Norman nobility. As many as 10,000 crusaders are believed to have set sail from Dartmouth, though not all were from Britain and Ireland. Gathering in the southern English ports of Bristol and Portsmouth, these men joined with crusaders

from Germany, Scotland and the Low Countries to travel to the Holy Land by sea, sailing around the Iberian Peninsula and through the Straits of Gibraltar. The decision to combine forces with Flemish crusaders was part of the tradition of military alliances between England and the counts of Flanders that had begun with William the Conqueror's invasion in 1066.¹⁰⁸

Their activities are recorded in some detail in the anonymous *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (*Conquest of Lisbon*), which gives an eyewitness account of the capture of Lisbon in 1147 by these men. The Anglo-Normans who joined this contingent were under the leadership of Saher de Archelle and Hervey de Glanville, both constables of England, and Simon of Dover and Hervey of London, each man leading a contingent from a different area. The men in the English contingent came predominantly from the southern port towns: 'seven youths' from Ipswich took part in the attack on Lisbon, while ships from Norfolk, Suffolk and Kent had transported the English crusaders.¹⁰⁹ Their participation alongside a large number of Flemings reflects the importance of mercantile links with southern England in the mid-twelfth century.

Fighting men from lower down on the social hierarchy also made up a significant part of the army that sailed from Britain and Ireland at the time of the Third Crusade. The most famous Welsh participant from this period was an anonymous Welsh archer, sometimes called Marcaduc, who engaged in a test of skill with a Turkish archer:

A Turk came out to shoot upon us and did not want to turn his back and a Welshman under provocation went out to fire in return. The Welshman was called Marcaduc and was not the son of a lord nor a duke. The Turk was called Grair; he was bold, strong, and seemed powerful. They immediately shot upon one another, the Welshman aiming at the Turk, the Turk at the Welshman. The Turk began to ask the Welshman where he came from, which country. The Welshman replied 'I am from Wales. It is mad of you to come down [here].'¹¹⁰

Richard I's army was swelled by men with less skill than Marcaduc who answered the call to assist the Holy Land. Forty-three named crusaders travelled from Cornwall – including a shoemaker, a gamekeeper and two tanners, a merchant and a miller – as did groups from Lincolnshire and Staffordshire.¹¹¹ A large number from London

took part, including a goldsmith called Geoffrey, and maintained links with the Order of St Thomas Becket in Acre, founded during the crusade.¹¹² In an echo of the Second Crusade, one of the English ships that carried these Londoners joined forces at the port of Silves (Portugal) to fight against the Moors, while another nine ships assisted the Portuguese king after landing at Lisbon, though it is questionable how much military assistance these untrained men could provide.¹¹³ These are obviously only the names of some of the crusaders. Beatrice Siedschlag, working on the assumption that there were 107 ships in Richard I's crusading fleet, with eighty crusaders and twenty-five crew on each, suggested that there could have been as many as 11,235 men in Richard's naval force, though she suggested 4,697 was more likely for English crusaders alone.¹¹⁴

The decline in general mass *passagium* in the thirteenth century meant that the non-combatant sections of society – the merchants, traders, artisans and craftsmen – were less likely to join the crusades of the nobility, though they are still found in the first decades of the century. The *Pipe Rolls* for the years 1206 and 1207 record a range of crusaders, from nobles to merchants, chaplains and a butcher, taking part during this time, while during the Fifth Crusade Hermeracus the cook joined the army from England.¹¹⁵ Walter Bower, writing in the fifteenth century, believed that 'a countless multitude' of unnamed people responded to legatine preaching in Scotland in 1212, while a Scottish poet, Gille-Brigde Albanach, went to the Holy Land at this time.¹¹⁶ It is also possible that there were groups of anonymous Scottish crusaders in the Holy Land in the late 1220s. In his entry for the year 1228, Sifridus of Balnhusin, a priest of Grossbalhausen in Thüringen, noted that 'Jerusalem was restored to the Christians. At that time the nation of the Scots wandered for nearly two years, in passing through the lands.' This could have been a reference to pilgrims or traders, but it could equally refer to crusaders.¹¹⁷ There were some clearly identifiable crusaders who came from the artisan and merchant class who took part in the crusade of 1270, but their service was largely related to their links with its noble leadership; the Lord Edward's groom Fowin, his valet John Hardel, as well as that of his wife Eleanor, joined the crusade, as did Eleanor's tailor Richard de la Garderobe. There were also various merchants, friars, clerics, burgesses, a cook and a surgeon called Hugh Sauvage who sailed with either Edmund or Edward.

In the 1250s Henry III's determination to undertake a crusade led to a range of recruitment efforts in Ireland; the evidence suggests that

there was considerable success in recruiting fighters, but they are not individually identified. In May 1253 Henry III ordered those who had taken the Cross in Ireland to meet him so that he could see how many men would accompany his crusading army.¹¹⁸ Some of these crusaders were hampered from participating by the local Anglo-Irish nobles. In 1255 the archbishop of Tuam and bishop of Killala complained to the pope that Irish crusaders were being prevented 'from fulfilling their vow or redeeming it when they will'.¹¹⁹ In response, the pope ordered the nobles to desist, but a counterappeal from Henry III asked for his officials to be exempt from the order. The English king appears to have done this because of the state of Ireland at this time; many of the men listed in the complaint were royal representatives charged with securing land in Ireland, and lack of manpower left lands open to attack. In the end Henry prevailed, and the crusaders never appear to have left Ireland. The nobles in Ireland probably stopped the crusaders from going abroad because their services were needed to secure the estates of the Anglo-Irish and, perhaps more importantly, those of the Lord Edward, who had become lord of Ireland in 1254. In that year, Edward had complained that he was losing lands to the Irish because the English were not staying on their estates, and so he ordered his men to defend his land in Ireland.¹²⁰ A few men still went around this time, however. Maelmuire I Lachtnain and Felix O Ruadhan both went to the Holy Land in 1249, and in July 1250 a Roger de Irlandus made his will in Lucca in Italy and described himself as returning from overseas. Christine Meek suggests that he could have been a crusader, though he may have been a pilgrim or trader.¹²¹

Criminals

Not everyone chose to take the Cross of their own free will. For crusaders from all levels of society, crusading could also been seen as a means of escape, sometimes from a tricky political situation but more commonly from a legal predicament. In 1189 William Trussel of Merton on Warwickshire went on crusade after the manslaughter of his wife, and Walter of Benington was released from prison in 1269 in order to go on crusade.¹²² John de Courcy voluntarily took the Cross, but only in order to escape from captivity in Ireland in 1204. In 1221 an Assize at Worcester was investigating the murder of Howel

le Marchis by a carter but decided that the carter would be excused trial because he had already gone to Jerusalem, and Richard Siward may have 'evaded the king's order of banishment' in 1236 by taking the Cross.¹²³

Crusading was sometimes imposed by Church or Crown as part of an act of penance. In 1202–3, the pope gave the following instructions:

Pope Innocent III orders the bishop of the Orkneys to receive Lumberd, a layman, the bearer of this letter, and cause him to perform his enjoined penance for having, on an expedition with the earl of Caithness, stormed a castle in which he took the bishop of Caithness, whose tongue he was, as he says, forced by some of the earl's army to cut out. The penance is to be as follows: he shall hasten home, and, barefooted, and naked except for breeches and a short woollen vest without sleeves – having his tongue tied by a string and drawn out so as to project beyond his lips, and the ends of the string bound round his neck – with rods in his hand, in sight of all men, walk for fifteen days successively through his own native district and the neighbouring country. He is to go to the door of the church and prostrate on the earth, undergo discipline with the rods he is to carry and spend each day in silence and fasting, until evening, when he shall take bread and water only. This shall last fifteen days so that within a month he shall proceed to Jerusalem and serve the Cross for three years, and continue a fast of bread and water every Friday for eleven years and never more bear arms against Christians.¹²⁴

The register of Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, records the names of several men who took crusading vows as penance for assaulting a clerk, such as Hugh, son of Emma Bunting of Stamford (1290).¹²⁵ Other crimes were less serious. In 1292 a crusading penance was imposed on Edward de Halestre for taking part in divine service while under sentence of excommunication.¹²⁶ Not everyone who wanted to escape domestic problems had committed a crime. Simon Lloyd suggests that one of the appeals for the crusade to the Lord Edward was as 'a splendid opportunity to act in unfettered capacity in charge of his own expedition'.¹²⁷ The end of the civil war and peace with Wales in 1267 had removed the prospect of domestic fighting, and Edward's father was continually interfering in his lands and revenues, making the prospect of some freedom overseas more attractive.

Women

Women also took part in the crusades, although, unsurprisingly, in very small numbers. Some of them participated as combatants. There are many examples of women in the medieval period engaging in warfare – defending their lands or themselves, or directing troops – but women were not the target audience of the crusade preachers, and they were not encouraged to physically participate in the crusades. It can also be hard to determine the number of women participants, as many western writers were not interested in their role, while Muslim writers may have exaggerated it as a way of criticising the crusaders.¹²⁸ Others took a supportive role: keeping the army provisioned, supplying water, cleaning the men of lice, administering to their health, and working as prostitutes.

Two women from England – cousins Emma of Hereford and Godevere (or Godwera) of Tosni – joined the First Crusade, but the continental rather than the English links of their husbands were central to this. Emma's husband Ralph Gael had fled to Normandy in exile, and Godevere's husband, Baldwin of Boulogne, was a French landowner who 'brought his noble wife from here English homeland'. She died and was buried in the East.¹²⁹ In the 1180s Margaret of Beverley went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and became involved in the defence of Jerusalem; although not a crusader, she defended the city with a cooking pot to protect her head, bringing water to the male defenders. She was captured, ransomed and imprisoned twice, tortured and forced into hard labour.¹³⁰

When the crusade was preached at Geddington in 1188, one of the ordinances declared that chaste laundresses were the only women allowed to join the crusade.¹³¹ Despite this stricture, at least two women, Hawais de Trevisec and Portejoie, joined men from Cornwall on crusade in c.1190, and Ambrose, writing about the crusade activities of Richard I, claimed there were 'dames and wives' on crusade.¹³² There must have been others, as the *Chronicle of Melrose* recorded that in 1188 'innumerable people of the rich and poor, [and] nobles of either sex' took the Cross.¹³³ Heresenta Sugestable joined the Fourth Crusade with her husband Reginald.¹³⁴ At the time of the Fifth Crusade, several women are recorded as joining the crusader army; the role of women at this time is perhaps not surprising, as in 1213 Pope Innocent III had ordered his crusade preachers to recruit even the most unsuitable people, with the intention that they would

redeem these vows for money.¹³⁵ One of these women, Lecia, went to Jerusalem after the murder of her son William, as she was connected in some way to his death.¹³⁶ Another was Mariotta, daughter of William of Yorkshire. Mariotta joined the Fifth Crusade after accusing Thomas le Grant of rape. Beatrice Siedschlag suggests that Mariotta may have taken the Cross because she regretted her accusation.¹³⁷ Claricia, co-heiress of the manor of Brockhurst in Warwickshire, died on crusade in c.1221. Agnes of Middleton from Yorkshire also went to Jerusalem, perhaps to avoid a pending court case, while the daughter of Rogerius Anglicus was on ship bound for the crusades in 1250.¹³⁸ All of these women came from England; there are no recorded female crusaders from Scotland, Ireland or Wales.

Royal women also played a role in the crusades. Richard I's queen, Berengaria, whom he married in 1191, travelled with him to Acre and Jaffa. Eleanor of Castile, niece of John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, accompanied her husband the Lord Edward on crusade in 1270, giving birth to a daughter, Joan of Acre, while in the Holy Land. Although she was a non-combatant, she had taken the Cross.¹³⁹ Joan (together with her husband) took the Cross herself in July 1290, showing how traditions of crusade participation could be passed through the female line. The participation of such high-status women naturally involved servants and retinues that would accompany them. It is reasonable to conclude that this would have involved female attendants and body servants in addition to the recorded (male) chaplains and administrators.

Motivations

The motivations for joining the crusade were many and varied, and rarely was a crusader motivated by just one cause. Although crusaders did not often leave a record of their motivations, it is sometimes possible to extrapolate them from the surviving evidence.

The most central motivation for crusaders throughout the medieval period was undoubtedly piety. As the crusade vow was a religious one, it is reasonable to assume that virtually all crusaders had religious motivations, whether they were the driving force or a secondary consideration, but for some, crusade participation appears to have been an extension of interest shown in pilgrimage activity and a desire to undertake an activity that earned remission of sins. One of

the most overtly pious of the English crusaders was William Longespee II (c.1209-50), who went on pilgrimage in 1232 and 1245, and on crusade in 1240 and 1249.¹⁴⁰ Hugh de Lacy, lord of Pontefract, joined the crusade of Philip of Flanders in 1177, but had already expressed a desire to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the late 1150s, while Robert, earl of Leicester, went on pilgrimage in 1179 and joined the Third Crusade.¹⁴¹

Some crusaders were driven by the fear of having aroused God's anger. When a group of young men from Gwynedd took the Cross in 1188, they did so because they believed that God had punished them for their earlier hesitance. After hearing the preaching of the archbishop of Canterbury, the men left without making a vow. They were attacked by some thieves, 'some being killed there and then, and others mortally wounded.' Fearing this was a judgement from God, they changed their minds and willingly took the Cross.¹⁴² Gerald of Wales gave another example of a young man from north Wales. When pressed to take the Cross, he declared that he would not do so until he had avenged his master's death with the spear he held in his hand. While waving his spear in the air,

this strong spear broke in pieces and fell to the ground from his two hands. He was left holding nothing but the butt. He was alarmed and terrified by this omen, which he accepted as a sign that he must indeed take the Cross, and this he did without further argument.¹⁴³

Unsurprisingly for a society already used to service and the raising of military hosts, some crusade participation was the result of retinue service. Many crusaders took part because they were also serving their lords. Richard I took a large number of his personal and administrative servants on crusade, including Roger Malchel, his vice-chancellor. Roger was drowned off the coast of Cyprus while in possession of the king's Great Seal, which was later washed up with his body and found by 'some common person' who tried to sell it back to the king's army. He was also accompanied by his arbalester, Turpin, and his porter, Wigan of Cherbourg (Wiltshire).¹⁴⁴ This was also the case during the Fifth Crusade, when Ranulf, earl of Chester, funded one hundred knights to accompany him on the crusade. One of the men in his service, John de Lacy, issued a charter while in Damietta on the Fifth Crusade, and this in turn records

the names of several knights who were presumably in his service, such as his steward, Robert of Kent, and his porter, Roger.¹⁴⁵ When Hugh de Neville drew up his will while on crusade at Acre in 1267, he mentioned soldiers, a chaplain, a page and other servants who were with him on crusade, and Robert de Brus took a retinue of Scots in the 1270s.¹⁴⁶ It is unsurprising that kings and major nobles took retinues with them, as the Lord Edward did from Ireland and the Welsh March, but even a minor knight might take servants and retainers: one of Edward's followers, Richard de la Rochelle, took his clerk John de Fifhide.¹⁴⁷

Other crusaders took part because they formed part of larger family groups. James Powell calculated that 20 per cent of the English participants in the Fifth Crusade were travelling with their relatives; of these, William de Letres (Nottinghamshire) travelled with his brothers Peter and Nicholas, and Ranulf, earl of Chester, took his brother-in-law and his nephew.¹⁴⁸ Llywelyn ap Gruffydd travelled with his great-uncle, Richard of Cornwall. During the crusade of 1270–72, the brothers Hamo and Robert le Strange, and brothers-in-law Roger de Clifford and Roger de Leyburn were just some of the men who travelled with relatives. From among the Scots, Robert de Brus and his sons took the Cross.

Some joined the crusades because of family tradition; many of the papal requests for help appealed to the familial pride and duty of their audiences. Philip the Grammarian, son of Robert of Gloucester, was the great-nephew of Robert Curthose, the famed leader of the First Crusade, and Bernard de St Valery the younger was the grandson of the First Crusader, Reginald of St Valery.¹⁴⁹ The Bohuns, Cliffords and Furnivalls were all traditional crusading families, as were the Lacys. Roger de Monthaut went on crusade in 1250; his grandson Adam de Monte Alto did so in 1270. John de Verdun's great-grandfather Bertram had joined the Third Crusade.¹⁵⁰ Geoffrey de Geneville and his brother took part in the crusade of 1270 in part because of their ties to the Lord Edward, but they came from a long line of crusaders, the French Joinvilles, who took part in the Fourth Crusade.¹⁵¹ Such traditions were also transmitted via women. Adela of England, daughter of William the Conqueror and mother of King Stephen, persuaded her husband, Stephen of Blois, to join the crusade after he had failed to fulfil his first crusade vow, while according to the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, 'Brides urged their husbands and mothers incited their sons to go' on the Third Crusade.¹⁵²

Crusaders might also take part in order to fulfil the vow of someone else, such as their lord or a relative who was too sick or elderly to fulfil his own vow. The most famous proxy crusader was William Marshal, future earl of Pembroke, who accepted Henry the Young King's charge to fulfil his vow on the latter's deathbed in 1183. In 1190 William de Staunton went on crusade in the place of his lord, and Prince Edmund went in place of his father, Henry III.¹⁵³ In 1204 Brian of Butterleigh (Devon) undertook a crusade on behalf of Gilbert Foliot in return for certain lands – a rather secular reason for going!¹⁵⁴

Geographical ties linked crusaders together. A good example is that of John le Strange of Shropshire and his neighbour, Robert Corbet. They were direct neighbours and were still together when Richard I returned from crusade and landed at Portsmouth. Another is Roger of Howden, a Yorkshire cleric, who took part in the Third Crusade with a group of other Yorkshire men, giving a sense of how neighbours travelled together to the Holy Land.¹⁵⁵ During the crusade of the Lord Edward, there were clear groups from the Welsh March, Ireland and East Anglia 'united by land tenure', states Harding, 'but more by clientage and by the sharing of administrative responsibilities of the shires'.¹⁵⁶ There was clearly a certain amount of peer pressure, and shame was exerted on those who had not taken the Cross in the same way that white feathers were handed out to men who failed to enlist during World War One. According to the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, as the men of England and France flocked to take the Cross at the time of the Third Crusade, 'a great many men sent each other wool and distaff, hinting that if anyone failed to join this military undertaking they were only fit for women's work'.¹⁵⁷

Bruce Beebe suggested that so many royalists went on the 1270 crusade with the Lord Edward because the crusaders' protection would protect the property they had gained in the aftermath of the Barons' War and keep it free from legislation.¹⁵⁸ For some, however, using crusading as a means of excuse was not always successful. Robert son of Colus fled to Jerusalem after the murder of Roger of Kilham but was declared an outlaw in his absence by the court in Yorkshire because he had left after 'having been appealed' of the murder.¹⁵⁹ Not everyone who wanted a reason to leave Britain and Ireland did so because they were fleeing legal problems. In 1221 Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, took the Cross because of his 'political eclipse' at Henry III's minority court.¹⁶⁰

Conclusion

Crusade participants from Britain and Ireland were drawn from across society. Although royal leadership was absent in England until the Third Crusade, when Richard I did take the Cross his actions spurred many of his nobles to follow suit, and with the king and his men went their servants. The same was true during the crusade of the Lord Edward, when many of the royalists who had supported Henry III through the wars with his barons took part, but royal leadership was not always essential for a healthy response to the crusade. The Fifth Crusade drew such illustrious figures as the earls of Chester and Derby, yet there was no king or prince to lead them. There was no concurrent royal leadership from Scotland, Ireland or Wales, which may account for the more limited response there, although other factors played a role, such as political conflict and suspicion of English recruitment efforts. The lack of royal leadership from Scotland, in particular, appears to have had a significant impact on men taking the Cross as a whole, as some of the few nobles who did go to the East were prompted by links to English nobles, while finding identifiable crusaders from Scotland as a whole is difficult.

For the most part, those who took part in the crusades remain nameless and their numbers are not recorded: those who made up the armies of the noble leaders recorded in chronicles and administrative works, or who set off under their own steam. People from the lower end of the social spectrum who are recorded are often notable because of the reason behind their journey: some were escaping from accusations or legal problems at home, while others were sent to fight as penance. Not all of those who took the Cross were fighters who would prove useful, but the penitential nature of the journey attracted them to go anyway, and so cooks, butchers and women are all found in the armies which left Britain and Ireland. Another group of non-combatants – at least in theory – were the religious; some went to fight, others to serve the king and provide spiritual succour to the army, while others no doubt wanted to see the Holy City and the sacred sites of the East.

Participation in the crusades from Britain and Ireland was a largely steady affair. The greatest number of people took part in the Third Crusade, the Fifth Crusade and the crusade of the Lord Edward, as wider efforts at recruitment, the participation of the king and leading magnates, and more favourable domestic conditions made absence

possible. Where English influence spread to Wales and Ireland, the message of the crusade, and subsequently participation, increased a little, though as the native people of both countries were still fighting the English they appear to have been reluctant to join many of the expeditions. Instead, participation from those areas is largely accounted for by settler families who had lordship ties to England. Scotland was perhaps the least active of all, with crusade participation only happening in small numbers in the thirteenth century.

Chapter 4: Political Crusades

The definition of what constitutes a crusade is open to debate. Different groups of historians, admittedly artificially defined for ease of comparison, take different views, believing that the location, target or motivations of a war determined its suitability for being defined as a crusade. Traditionalists see only campaigns launched to recover Jerusalem as true crusades; generalists argue that any Christian war fought for God was a crusade; popularists claim that crusading came out of popular, peasant movements; while pluralists argue that any war in which the participants took a vow and gained spiritual rewards could be seen a crusade.¹ These definitions, put forward by Giles Constable in 2001, are not satisfactory and are sometimes controversial, but at present they are the clearest definitions in place, and they do help to distinguish between varying approaches to crusading amongst modern historians.²

Pluralist interpretations of the crusade allow for a wider spread in crusading activity, which echoed the way in which the crusade was employed in medieval Europe. The success of the First Crusade, coupled with the papacy's desire for reform, meant it was thus perhaps only a matter of time before the pope started to direct the crusades against Christian enemies because of the opposition to papal policy, offering spiritual rewards for those who vowed to fight. The idea of 'political' crusades was (and still is) a contentious one: not all contemporaries viewed them as justifiable, and not all historians have seen them as 'genuine' crusades. To contemporaries, a crusade was a military venture

authorised by the pope on Christ's behalf, the leading participants in which took vows and consequently enjoyed the privileges of

protection at home and the indulgence that, when the campaign was not destined for the east, was equated with that granted to crusaders to the Holy Land.³

A crusade did not have to go to the Holy Land to be considered legitimate, and in fact contemporaries did not distinguish between those with a religious aim and those with a political agenda. For most crusaders, there was no real understanding of the ideology behind the crusades, and there was certainly no uniformity in terms of what made up a crusade, how it was described, or how crusaders presented themselves. There was no word for crusader at the time – the symbolism of the Cross only became symbolic of crusading (as distinct from pilgrimage) at the end of the twelfth century – and the crusade itself was often referred to as a journey or pilgrimage.⁴ Contemporary writers did criticise crusades against Christians, but so too did commentators complain when crusades against Muslims were unsuccessful; most of their criticism of crusades against Christian enemies ‘was more directed at timing than direction’ or ‘came, for the most part, from interested parties’.⁵ Thus criticism was often fuelled by how successful a crusade was rather than by its choice of target.

The link between the crusades and conflict with enemies of Christianity began as early as c.1100, when Landulf of Milan likened crusading to the mission to free the church from the corruption of simony.⁶ Throughout the twelfth century, the language of crusading and the idea of just conflict arose in the political arena. In 1135, when Roger II of Sicily supported the antipope Anacletus II, Pope Innocent II declared that anyone fighting against Christianity’s enemies (i.e., Roger) would gain the same indulgence as those who had taken part in the First Crusade. It was, though, under the pontificate of Innocent III that the papacy began to call crusades to fight against political opponents within Europe on the grounds that they were threatening the papal states.⁷ This politicisation of the crusade was made clear in 1198, when Innocent III declared a crusade against Markward of Anweiler, opponent of the papal claim to hold the regency of Sicily. The dispute between Markward and the pope was largely political, though Innocent was trying to organise a crusade at the time and felt that Markward was hindering this, making a crusade against him justifiable. Moreover, Sicily was an important staging post for transport and supplies needed for a crusade, and Innocent saw it as essential

that the island kingdom be secured before a new crusade in favour of the Holy Land could be launched.

Certainly by the thirteenth century it was not uncommon for people who had taken a vow to crusade to the Holy Land to commute that vow to fight within Europe. Fights against the Emperor Frederick II (1229, 1240 and 1248); the Stedinger Peasants (1234); the people of Savona and Albenga (1240); Frederick II's son and heir, Conrad IV (1250); Frederick's illegitimate son Manfred of Sicily (1255-66); the Ghibellines (1256); Conradin son of Conrad IV (1268); the Aragonese (1283); and Frederick of Sicily (1298, 1299 and 1302) were all political in motivation, as various popes used the crusade as a weapon against those who opposed papal plans, or to support one side or another in dynastic conflicts. In these crusades, 'neither means nor end has any direct connection with the spiritual objectives of the church'.⁸

These crusades occasionally elicited interest in Britain and Ireland, but they were not, on the whole, of sufficient interest to attract more than the occasional recruit, as they lacked the emotional pull of the Jerusalem crusade. Instead, in thirteenth-century England opponents of papal policy and of papally supported leadership became the focus of military action which had similarities with these political crusades in Europe. A crusade, or something like it, was twice employed to support Henry III (1215-17 and 1263-65), while the language of crusading was used by both rebels and royalists in the rebellions against Henry and his father, King John. This was clearly part of the wider European trend, in which the papacy intervened in political matters and translated its support into that of a crusade. It was a trend that people in England were aware of; the author of the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, for example, understood that the campaign of 1281 against the Aragonese king, Peter, was a crusade even though it was a political dispute.⁹

Elsewhere in Britain and Ireland, matters were not so clear-cut. Although Ireland was never the subject of a declared crusade, crusading rhetoric and the idea of warfare on behalf of the Church appear to have emerged in 1155 when Henry II was contemplating the conquest of Ireland on behalf of his younger brother. In Wales warfare was never depicted as a crusade, but recruiting for the crusades was used to remove potential troublemakers, and Welsh people were likened to Saracens by John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury, during the wars of Edward I. Warfare in Scotland had

more in common with the English conflicts of the 1210s and 1260s, though there was never a formal crusade declaration and the pope said nothing official.

Crusading Imagery and the Barons' Rebellion, 1215–17

King John's reign (1199–1216) was marked by the loss of Normandy, arguments with the papacy and wars with his barons. John's problems with the Church began in 1206 when the canons of Canterbury Cathedral elected Reginald, their sub-prior, as their next archbishop. John supported his own candidate, John de Grey, bishop of Norwich. When the dispute was taken to the pope for resolution, Innocent III overrode both choices and appointed Stephen Langton and, despite King John's opposition, consecrated him in June 1207. Angry at having his perceived rights ignored, John refused to let his new archbishop into England and seized church lands. In retaliation, the pope placed England under an interdict in March 1208 and felt compelled to excommunicate John in November 1209. This religious censure did not appear to concern John, but by 1213 he was worried about a possible French invasion, so he sought peace with the pope. It was also possible that, as an enemy of the papacy, John feared King Philip would be asked to lead a crusade against him, as Innocent III had threatened 'to sanction a projected French invasion as a crusade' in order to force John's compliance.¹⁰ As a result, in May of that year he surrendered England to Innocent III, making the kingdom a papal fief and John the pope's vassal.

Although John's relationship with the papacy had been troubled for years, this action made him one of the pope's closest allies and one which Innocent was duty-bound to assist. The timing of the agreement was useful, not only because of the threat from France but also because John was suffering domestic problems, including a plot against him from the north in 1212, the failure of his French campaign, and the growing discontent of his nobles. At the start of 1215 there were increased rumblings from this last group, and John sought support from the pope. On 4 March 1215 John took the Cross, much to the delight of Innocent III, though some contemporaries were aware that he had done so because his new status would give him certain protection against the rebellious barons, chiefly by allowing him to delay his response to their accusations.¹¹ The Welsh *Brut* y

Tywysogyon claimed he made his vow 'as was said, for fear of them [the barons]', rather than to help the Holy Land. Walter of Coventry was also sceptical of the king's motives.¹² In May John wrote and told Innocent that he had taken the Cross

and sought the benefit and privileges of crusaders, that our lands be not disturbed or effected by the evil customs which we proposed to cover the expenses of our journey to the Holy Land.¹³

Although commentators in England and Wales might have been sceptical, John's vow clearly convinced the pope that he intended to set out on crusade.

On 15 June 1215 John met with the rebel barons at Runnymede on the banks of the Thames. They presented him with the Magna Carta, forcing John to agree to its terms. John appealed to the pope because his agreement was exacted under duress and the terms of the charter conflicted with the rights of the pope as John's feudal lord. The pope supported him, and the rejection of the charter sparked civil war in which John had some successes, taking Rochester castle and recapturing the Scottish king's holdings in the north of England. The rebels, realising that they needed outside help, invited the French Dauphin Louis, eldest son and heir of Phillip II, to lead an invasion of England, offering him the crown as a reward. The war continued throughout John's reign and into the minority rule of Henry III, ending only when the royalists were victorious in 1220.

This was clearly a political conflict sparked by discontent with John's rule, yet the king's decision to take the Cross and the support of Innocent III meant that it developed some of the trappings of a crusade. The legate Pandulph complained to the bishop of Reading that the rebels were 'worse than Saracens for they are trying to unseat a king who, it was especially hoped, would succour the Holy Land'.¹⁴ Simon Lloyd went as far as to say that there *was* a formal crusade declared in John's support, though Maurice Powicke argued that the fight against John was 'a holy war with the prestige of a crusade', but not a crusade in itself.¹⁵

The baronial rebels depicted themselves as fighting on the side of God; one of their prominent leaders, Robert FitzWalter, called himself the 'marshal of the Army of God and of the Holy Church' in June 1215. Not to be outdone, in 1217, when the army of Henry III was facing the threat of French invasion under Prince Louis, Philip

de Albini called himself 'Commander of the Militia of Christ'. At the battle of Lincoln in May of that year the royalists wore white crosses and indulgences were offered by Honorius III. The Barnwell chronicler was once again critical of those who were allowed to commute their crusading vows in order to fight on behalf of the king but sympathetic to the barons, whom he referred to as the 'Army of God'.¹⁶ His views were admittedly coloured by what he saw as the greed of the papacy and the hold of the pope over ecclesiastical matters in England, but it shows that the idea of employing crusading ideology by the Crown was accepted in England.¹⁷

No matter how those involved chose to see themselves, perhaps what matters most is the papal attitude to the conflict. After all, for a conflict to be a crusade, it had to have papal backing. On 7 October 1216, two weeks before John's death, Pope Honorius III described the knight Savaric de Maeléon in a letter as a man who 'has taken the cross for the defence of England', suggesting that he saw the conflict in crusading terms.¹⁸ However, there is some debate about the meaning of this letter. Simon Lloyd and Christopher Tyerman suggest that it elevated the conflict to a crusade, while David Carpenter believes that it refers to Savaric as a crusader to the East who was now fighting for the defence of the king, the two things being separate.¹⁹

After John's death in October 1216, the barons were in the position of having to defend the child-king Henry III against an external threat from France. In order to drum up support, in January 1217 the pope allowed the papal legate to offer remission of sins for those who would fight for their king as if 'they were fighting against the pagans', elevating the conflict to the status of a crusade. William Marshal, by this time regent for the young king, and the papal legate reminded their army that they were fighting against excommunicate rebels, suggesting that they were enemies of true Christians and thus legitimate targets of aggression. By the following month Philip de Albini, the royalist commander, was described as 'the leader of the army of Christ'.²⁰ Fifth crusaders who had intended to travel and fight in aid of the Holy Land were permitted to commute their vows if they fought for Henry III, and they adopted the symbol of a cross on their clothes; they went on to fight at the Battle of Lincoln on 20 May 1217 wearing white crosses over their armour.²¹ Some contemporary sources saw the fight as a crusade. The *Waverley Annals* (c.1291) claimed that 'both nobles and commoners, took the sign of the

Lord's cross on their breast in order to throw Louis and the French out of England.'²²

Did Innocent III and Honorius III thus believe that the fight against the baronial rebels was a crusade? It seems that, as John and the young Henry III had taken the Cross, the pope was keen to create stability in England so that their vows could be fulfilled. Innocent III saw the continuing warfare in England not as a threat to the English crown in itself, but as an obstacle to their wider European crusading plans. Those who helped the royal cause were thus crusaders, as by helping the English king they were helping the Holy Land. In some ways the motivation was similar to that which drove the crusade against Markward of Anweiler in 1199. He was a political enemy of Innocent III's, but the dispute he engendered was also hindering preparations for the Fourth Crusade.

Crusading Ideology under Henry III, 1263–65

Crusading was also a central feature of the baronial rebellion against Henry III in the 1260s. It appeared in two ways: as one of the complaints against Henry III, as he refused to fulfil his vow to crusade in the Holy Land and hindered others from fulfilling theirs; and in the conflict between rebels and royalists, as both sides used the imagery and language of the crusades.

The baronial rebellion against Henry III had several causes. The behaviour of the king's Lusignan half-brothers, the failure of the Sicilian venture and the papal demands for men and money, and rebellion in north Wales and the unpopularity of calls for a muster to deal with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd all contributed to disaffection among the barons who, angered at Henry's style of rule and his favouritism to his foreign Lusignan relations, forced him into the Provisions of Oxford in 1258.²³ The Provisions of Oxford stipulated that the magnates should decide the king's choice of ministers as well as his grants of patronage and his policies; that there should be reform on a local and national level; and that foreigners should not dominate England. It was this last point that proved the most contentious, largely because many of Henry's advisors were Savoyards related to his wife. In addition, a council of fifteen magnates was drawn up to govern England on Henry III's behalf. In the following year the Provisions of Westminster were drawn up, reiterating many of these

concerns and stipulating additional reforms relating to taxation and inheritance.²⁴

Henry was also criticised on two further counts: his interest in gaining the kingdom of Sicily at the expense of helping the Holy Land, and the way he hindered his barons from fulfilling their own crusade vows. Henry III made his vow to assist the Holy Land in 1250 and, while the desire appears to have been genuine, it was not long before he was distracted by other potential locations for the crusade. In May 1254 he was eager to commute his crusading vow to fight in Sicily, which he had accepted from the pope two months before on behalf of his son, Edmund. It was assumed that Henry would be able to take Sicily and from there go on to the Holy Land.²⁵ There is some doubt as to how serious he was, as on 31 March 1254 Henry signed a treaty with Alfonso X, king of Castile, promising to commute his crusading vow so that he could go to North Africa. In September Henry wrote to the pope to this effect, but the request was denied.²⁶

The plan to commute Henry's vow was deeply unpopular with the English magnates, who refused to pay for Henry's wars in Sicily. His household finances fell into disarray, his opponents in Wales began to make headway in north Wales in 1256, and Richard of Cornwall, his brother, left England to become king of the Romans. Henry was weighed down by domestic problems at a time when his magnates expected him to be leading them on crusade. In 1258 Henry approached parliament and presented the papal demands for money to support Sicily, but parliament rejected his advances on the grounds that his agreement with the pope over Sicily had been made without their consent. The offer of the crown of Sicily was withdrawn and, though Henry tried to resurrect the venture in 1261 and 1262, in July 1263 Pope Urban IV permanently revoked the grant of Sicily.

Henry's initial reason for preventing English crusaders from departing was that he wanted them to sail with his own crusading army; this was a sensible step and one that would have made for a more formidable force. According to Matthew Paris, Henry 'urgently' asked the pope to delay his crusade, as some of the nobles who had taken the Cross were planning to set out against his wishes under the leadership of his enemy, the French king.²⁷ Henry handled his decision tactlessly. Unfortunately, although Henry wanted to commute his vow of 1250, his barons were not willing to do so themselves and still planned to go to the Holy Land. Alphonse of Poitiers noted that many people

believed Henry had only taken the Cross to prevent English crusaders from leaving in support of the crusade of Louis IX.²⁸

One of those whom Henry had prevented from joining the crusade was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, Henry III's brother-in-law. In 1247, as part of a wave of enthusiasm for a new crusade after the fall of Jerusalem (1244), Simon took the Cross. There were several reasons for doing so, not least the mood of the times, but Simon also had very personal reasons for wanting to go on crusade. His family had a tradition of crusading, and Simon himself was a devout man. Moreover, he felt guilty over the nature of his marriage, as his wife, Eleanor, had vowed never to marry again. Matthew Paris tells us that Simon 'took the cross so that, absolved from his sins, he might deserve to fly up to heaven; this was because of pangs of conscience over his marriage, for his wife had formerly vowed chastity before the archbishop of Canterbury, St Edmund, in a violent passion'.²⁹ He never fulfilled his vow. In May 1248 Henry III appointed Simon his lieutenant in Gascony for seven years, thus ending any chance to join the crusade of Louis IX. He was in Gascony for five and a half years, during which time he had to fund much of his activity from his own revenues, as Henry would not send sufficient money.

Poor handling of his nobles only fuelled opposition to Henry III's rule. In 1263 baronial rebellion became all out civil war, and it was not long before crusading itself was used in the conflict between the king and his barons. Simon de Montfort was the first to introduce the idea of the crusade to the baronial cause when, in December 1263, the earl and his followers adopted crusader crosses while at Southwark. The loyal Londoners had locked the earl and his followers out of the city. With the royalist army approaching, Simon and his men took on the sign of the Cross, made confession and waited for the army to arrive.³⁰ Simon was a former crusader, so it is perhaps not surprising that the idea to utilise crusade ideas came from him. It may have been premeditated, as in the spring of the same year he had already described himself as a *crucesignatus* who was fighting for England. Some contemporaries also saw the conflict in this way. The chronicler William Rishanger (c.1250–1312) believed that Simon fought as a crusader, claiming that Bishop Grosseteste had offered Simon remission of sins if he rebelled to defend the church, 'maintaining that the peace of the English Church could not be defended without the physical sword, and constantly assuring all that dying in her and for her would be crowned with martyrdom'.³¹

For some commentators, however, the war at this time was not seen in religious terms, the Welsh *Brut y Tywysogyon* describing it plainly as a fight of the barons 'together with the Welsh ... against Edward and the foreigners' who were advising Henry III.³²

The Battle of Lewes on 14 May 1264 was the first full engagement at which the rebels adopted crusade imagery. They identified themselves by wearing white crosses, and Bishop William Cantilupe of Worcester (d.1266) offered crusading indulgences to those who fought on their side.³³ According to the chronicle of Lanercost, Simon and his followers spent the night before the battle keeping vigil and making confession, whereas the royalist army got drunk and lay with prostitutes 'in front of the very altars of the church of St Pancras'.³⁴ The continuation of Gervase of Canterbury claimed that St Thomas Becket appeared at the battle in favour of Simon, a vision that echoed the appearance of saints before crusading conflicts.³⁵ When the battle lines were drawn up, those on de Montfort's side 'having made confession beforehand, crossed themselves on their shoulders and breasts'.³⁶ The *Song of Lewes*, written in celebration of Simon's triumph, described how 'God came to help the earl' and saw Simon himself as a knight of Christ.³⁷

After 1265 the idea of crusading continued to be utilised. The royalist side had papal backing, as the pope had already authorised the legate Guy Foulquois (later Clement IV) to preach a crusade against the rebels, though it is not clear if he did. The legate Ottobuono was appointed by the new pope to fulfil the same role in May 1265. The pope ordered him to

[g]rant to those who preach the crusade against the rebels power to grant a relaxation of forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who come to hear him.³⁸

Clement IV offered Louis IX of France remission of sins if he would come to the aid of the English king. With such terminology being bandied about, it is not surprising that in the Battle of Evesham on 4 August 1265 the rebels continued to use the white cross that they had employed at Lewes. The Osney Chronicle described Simon's followers at Evesham as 'the soldiers of Christ', and for the Waverley Annals both the earl and his followers were 'divinely awakened' to oppose the king.³⁹ The Scottish *Chronicle of Melrose* also devoted space to eulogising Simon de Montfort.⁴⁰ Pro-baronial writers continued to

see their cause as just, and Hugh Despenser, killed at the battle, was depicted as a martyr.⁴¹ What differed at Evesham was the adoption of the cross and crusading ideology by the royalist cause, something which the papacy had authorised.⁴²

Although some of the Scottish and English works saw the battle as one with religious undertones, the Welsh chronicles took a more neutral tone, showing the conflict in a political light:

Henry...gathered a mighty host of earls and barons who joined with him; and on Tuesday next after August he came to the field of Evesham. And against him came earl Simon and his host to fight with him. And in that fighting fell Simon and his sons and most of the nobles who supported him.⁴³

The Welsh works may have been different in tone to English and Scottish counterparts because Simon had fought against them in 1245, and giving him the sanctity of a crusader would have glorified a former enemy.⁴⁴ Irish works also treat the conflict simply as 'a great war'.⁴⁵ Likewise, not all English works saw the earl as a crusader or were sympathetic to Simon: the Merton *Flores* saw the baronial rebels as men driven by greed and ambition who gained support through exploitation.⁴⁶

Why did Simon de Montfort and his followers adopt the imagery and ideology of crusaders in the first place? Robert C. Stacey suggests three reasons: to justify their opposition; to show that Henry III was a tyrant, as tyrants were the focus of crusading by the 1260s; and because he had failed to fulfil his crusade against the Saracens, a similar charge to that which had been levelled at Sancho II of Portugal in 1245 (in the decretal *Grandi*) when he was deprived of his kingship, though his overthrow was driven more by anger at his administrative incompetence.⁴⁷ Using crusade imagery served to underscore the just nature of the baronial rebellion and, hopefully, to elevate their opposition above the purely political.

After Simon's death, what rebels remained fled to Kenilworth castle, where the royalist army besieged them. William de Freney, the English titular archbishop of Edessa, acted as a messenger to the castle in the hope that he could convince the rebels to surrender.⁴⁸ When Henry III rejected yet another set of demands, this time backed by the earl of Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, the earl occupied London. In an effort to bring the war to an end, Ottobuono preached a crusade at St Pauls

in order to draw troublemakers away from England to fight in the East. He did so again at Lincoln in October 1267 and at Northampton in June 1268. Instead of using the crusade as part of the conflict, Ottobuono was now trying to use it to remove troublemakers from England. Efforts at recruitment were, however, viewed with suspicion by the former baronial rebels. When the legate preached at the Bury parliament, the magnates expressed their concern at leaving their lands undefended, fearing that during their absence abroad former enemies would seize the opportunity to attack.

Although Ottobuono may have hoped to end the civil war by encouraging a large number of men to go to the Holy Land, in the end the act of taking the Cross itself was enough. When the Lord Edward made his crusade vow at Northampton in 1268, he elevated himself to the status of crusader, and thus the potential for rhetoric concerning crusading within England diminished. John Edward St Lawrence concludes: 'Perhaps for this reason, the unrest between Henry's death in 1272 and Edward's return from crusade in 1274, though considerable, found no anti-royal focus or leader and did not grow beyond a limited period of lawlessness... Edward, as a new king... seemed to have none of his father's liabilities, and many of Simon de Montfort's assets.'⁴⁹

Using the Crusades against England's Neighbours

When England tackled her nearest neighbours, the ideals and imagery of crusading were sometimes employed, though in a different way. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Ireland, Scotland and Wales were depicted as religiously corrupt and thus in need of conquest for reform, while at other times the crusade was used to remove potential troublemakers or depict one side as more just than the other.

Ireland

In 1169 a group of Normans from Wales under the leadership of Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, landed on the south coast of Ireland. They had been invited to Ireland by Dermot Mac Murchada, the ousted king of Leinster. Dermot sought to defeat his enemies but could not do so without outside help. Having appealed to Henry II, the Irishman was told that the English king was too busy in France,

but Henry recommended he take some of his barons from England and Wales to help instead. Dermot landed at Bristol and gained support from Richard FitzGilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke (called Strongbow), before moving on to Wales, where he recruited more men. After the Normans were successful, Strongbow married Aiofe, Dermot's daughter, and on the Irishman's death in 1171 Strongbow assumed his titles. Henry II could not tolerate his vassals setting themselves up as kings across the Irish Sea, so in October 1171, at a time when an absence from England was advisable in the aftermath of Thomas Becket's murder, Henry sailed to Ireland and received the submission of his vassals in Ireland.

The conquest of Ireland was thus not part of Henry II's policy in the late 1160s, but he became Lord of Ireland after his own magnates gained land there partly by invitation. It is possible, however, that his *was* his intention in 1155, and that he wanted Ireland for his younger brother William (d.1159), but that the Empress Matilda, their mother, opposed the plan. In September 1155 Henry tried to secure backing for a conquest of Ireland. A deputation of men travelled to Rome to seek approval, perhaps hoping 'for the declaration of a crusade'.⁵⁰ John of Salisbury wrote in 1159 that in response to the deputation Pope Adrian IV had

granted and donated Ireland to the illustrious king of England, Henry, to be held by him and his successors, as his letters, still extant, testify. He did this in virtue of the long established right, reputed to derive from the donation of Constantine, whereby his islands are considered to belong to the Roman church. Moreover, through me the pope sent the king a gold ring, set with a magnificent emerald, as a sign that he had invested the king with the right to rule Ireland. It was later directed by the king that this ring be kept in the public treasury.⁵¹

The grant referred to here is the papal bull, *Laudabiliter*, in which the pope gave his blessing to the invasion of Ireland. For some, *Laudabiliter* was part of a Canterbury plot, aimed at using Henry II to conquer and control Ireland so that Canterbury would hold religious jurisdiction over the Irish bishoprics.⁵² At no time, however, did the archbishop of Canterbury try to assert this claim after the conquest. The Irish Church was already reforming, and it would have been difficult for the archbishop of Canterbury to make a case for adhering

to old claims to the Irish dioceses. Moreover, there is no reference to Canterbury in the text of the bull, suggesting that an expansion of ecclesiastical control was not its aim.

There is, however, considerable debate over the authenticity of the bull, as it survives only in a copy made by Gerald of Wales (who Gwynn observes was rather out of royal favour in 1189) some 30 years later, and Henry II did not refer to it when he finally took control of Ireland in 1171.⁵³ The latter is hardly surprising given the relationship between Henry and the papacy in 1171; in the wake of Thomas Becket's murder in Canterbury Cathedral, England was placed under interdict and Henry closed the Channel ports in order to stop papal legates from entering the country. It is entirely possible that the bull *Laudabiliter* was genuine but that, with the death of Pope Adrian in 1159 and the deterioration of relations with the papacy, it lost its usefulness.⁵⁴ The Cambro-Normans who invaded Ireland had nothing to do with the grant, but, even if Henry II had then wanted to sanction his lordship of Ireland when he visited in 1171-72, he could not produce the bull, as his relationship with the papacy was at that time strained to say the least. Gerald of Wales, however, perhaps motivated partly by the fact that his relatives were engaged in Ireland, copied the text of the bull into his own work to legitimise the invasion and conquest. Furthermore, the existence of a bull that suggested the possibility of a crusade or holy war in the name of religion would have suited Gerald's mood at the time. Preparations for the Third Crusade were in full swing in England, and Gerald himself was heavily involved in the recruitment of crusaders. His own unfulfilled vow, which he was compelled to commute, may have inspired him to look upon *Laudabiliter* as a successful 'crusade' enterprise, and thus he copied the document into his work.

The aim, then, of the alleged bull was to 'enlarge the bounds of the Church, to declare the truth of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations'.⁵⁵ Contemporary descriptions of the Irish and their dissolute religious practises were explained in the same terms as those applied to the Slavs of Eastern Europe, who were the focus of crusades aimed at converting them to Christianity.⁵⁶ The same was said of the Welsh, who allegedly paid only lip service to Christianity: John of Salisbury complained in the 1150s that, 'though they nominally profess Christ, they deny him in their life and ways'.⁵⁷ Both Irish and Welsh were described as barbarians throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁸ At the time of the conquest of Wales, as

we shall see below, Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury (1279–92) also likened the ways of the Welsh to those of the Saracens. In both cases, what R. R. Davies termed ‘the mentality of domination’ was at work, that is, the idea of creating a subclass of people, making their domination not only necessary but justifiable.⁵⁹

While the invasion of Ireland was not a crusade in the strictest sense (it was ‘something rather like one’ according to John France),⁶⁰ elements of crusade ideology were used to justify it. In his *Life and Miracles of Thomas Becket*, William of Canterbury, clearly dissatisfied with the way things were going in Ireland, complained that Henry was acting ‘without cause’; Marcus Bull suggests that his choice of wording (*sine causa*) ‘is a deliberate inversion on his part of a royal appropriation of the language of Just War’.⁶¹ If Henry had not employed these ideas of a just and holy war via *Laudabiliter* in the first place, the criticism would not have been as effective; this would suggest the bull was genuine. When in 1172 Pope Alexander III, satisfied that Henry had had nothing to do with Becket’s murder, confirmed the grant of Ireland made by Pope Adrian, he did so because by conquering Ireland Henry had

[e]xtended over that barbarous and uncouth people the plenitude of your peace...with the aid of God, this people might through you be brought to abjure the foulness of their sins, and to submit themselves to the discipline of Christian practice. Thus might you deserve an imperishable crown of eternal glory, and this race be brought to salvation.⁶²

Alexander’s confirmation suggests that there had been an earlier bull, that the argument for reforming Ireland was plausible to contemporaries, and that Henry II’s control of Ireland had papal backing. Despite modern debate over the bull’s authenticity, *Laudabiliter* was accepted as genuine throughout the Middle Ages. Thus, *Laudabiliter* demonstrates how the English king could gain papal backing for what was essentially non-religious warfare by claiming that Ireland was religiously corrupt, and that in so doing arguments similar to those used in some crusades may have been used in the conquest of Ireland.

Wales

No crusade was ever launched in Wales against the Welsh princes; crusade imagery and crusade participation were, however, used on

two occasions in Anglo-Welsh relations to attempt to control Welsh leaders and fighters, remove troublesome princes and justify invasion in Wales.

The first time was in 1188, when Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, undertook his preaching tour of Wales and the Marches. The tour had joint secular and religious motivations, which meant that the crusade was being utilised by the archbishop and the English king in Anglo-Welsh relations. Among Baldwin's reasons for going was the desire to exert metropolitan authority over the Welsh Church. For the preceding century, Canterbury had tried to increase its control over the Welsh dioceses, appointing bishops hopefully sympathetic to this aim, and claiming authority over the Welsh bishops. There was, however, stiff opposition, even from some of the 'safe' appointments, and St David's claim to independence was still being pressed in 1188.

It is clear that these churchmen were concerned by the archbishop's visit. As the preaching party travelled through Wales, the canons of the cathedral of St David's became alarmed. Gerald of Wales informs us that these canons,

[j]ealous of the interests of their own church, used every argument they could think of to persuade him [the Lord Rhys] to refuse to allow the Archbishop of Canterbury to continue his journey into the interior of Wales, and more especially, for until then such a thing was unheard of, to visit St David's itself.⁶³

The archbishop reached the cathedral; he also made a point of celebrating mass in each of the three other seats in Wales. Arguably, he did so to preach the Cross, though there is no mention of him doing so at St David's, where he left that duty to Gerald, or at St Asaph.⁶⁴ Where he did preach, his message was not necessarily popular, as Gwion, bishop of Bangor, had to be 'all but forced' into taking the Cross, and most of the churchmen who supported him were Norman in origin.⁶⁵ Gerald was also keen to point out that the tour visited Llanddewibrefi, where St David himself presided over a Synod (c.545) to suppress the Pelagian heresy, as Pelagius's message had partly been a complaint against political tyranny. Gerald may have been underlining the fact that the archbishop's tour had a political as well as religious message.⁶⁶ When preaching in North

Wales, Baldwin's audience was less amenable to his plea, and when he addressed the household of the prince of Gwynedd, Owain, 'not one of them could be persuaded'.⁶⁷ Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Powys, refused to meet the archbishop and was excommunicated as a result, though in fairness the tour did not pass through his lands, and he was in fact on good terms with the English king.⁶⁸

One way in which Archbishop Baldwin demonstrated his authority over the Welsh Church was by ordering that the body of another prince, Owain Gwynedd, be removed from its burial place in Bangor Cathedral, as the prince had died excommunicate in 1170. Owain was excommunicated by Thomas Becket for marrying his alleged cousin, Cristin ferch Gronw ab Owain, and refusing to put her aside. However, the prince had also stood up to the archbishop of Canterbury and the pope by refusing to accept Canterbury's authority over the see of Bangor. Owain put forward his own candidate, Arthur of Bardsey, and may have sent him to Ireland for consecration instead of Canterbury. Neither pope nor archbishop recognised Owain's appointment, and the bishopric effectively remained vacant.

Politically, Henry II needed to secure peace in Wales in order to stop potential troublemakers from attacking Anglo-Norman lands during his planned absence on crusade. The presence of Ranulph de Glanville, Henry II's justiciar, suggests that there was a political motive. Ranulph had fought against the Welsh in the early 1180s, acted as an envoy to Rhys ap Gruffydd at a conference in Hereford in 1184, and negotiated a peace in the Welsh March in 1186, so his attendance on the archbishop was part of continuing representation of the crown in Wales and the March. For the most part, Henry II was on good terms with the strongest leader in south Wales, Rhys ap Gruffydd of Deheubarth (the Lord Rhys), who acted as the king's Justiciar there. The situation was not secure, however, as only a year earlier one of the lords of Ceredigion, part of Deheubarth, had attacked and burned the English-held town of Tenby.⁶⁹ The show of strength from the English over the matter of the crusade, and the intention of recruiting troublesome Welshman to fight in the Holy Land so that they could not cause problems at home, does not appear to have had the desired effect. Although Gerald of Wales claimed that 3,000 men took the Cross, including several Welsh princes, delays and the passage of time meant that many of them

did not depart. Moreover, Wales must have still been problematic for the English, as when Richard I succeeded his father he 'accepted a pledge from the petty kings of the Welsh and Scots that while he was on pilgrimage they would not cross their borders to do harm to the English'.⁷⁰

The second time the idea of the crusade was employed in Anglo-Welsh relations was during the Welsh War of 1282, when Edward I completed his conquest of Wales.⁷¹ While the king was busy prosecuting his military campaign in Wales in the autumn of 1282, his archbishop of Canterbury, John Pecham, decided to intervene. Llywelyn ap Gruffydd wrote to him in October 1282, complaining that the Welsh were being 'oppressed...more maliciously than if [they] were Saracens or Jews'. Pecham was not very sympathetic, and instead of addressing the prince's grievances he wrote to Llywelyn and his brother Dafydd offering terms that he felt would bring about the end of the conflict. His offer to Dafydd is of particular interest. The archbishop suggested that the prince undertake a crusade to the Holy Land, where he would 'be provided for in favourable terms according to his status, on condition that he does not return unless by the royal court's mercy he is called back'.⁷² Dafydd told the archbishop that if he chose to undertake a crusade, he would do so for God, 'and not for men'. Dafydd saw the idea to send him on an indefinite crusade as 'forced slavery' and finished by telling the archbishop that the war he was currently fighting was just, suggesting that he already saw himself as fighting for a worthy enough cause.⁷³

Pecham was not very sympathetic to the Welsh and went as far as to liken them to Saracens. In October and November 1282 Pecham sent the Franciscan and theologian John of Wales as ambassador to Llywelyn ap Gruffydd. The friar took with him a list of seventeen articles that the archbishop wished to see addressed. In the tenth item, the archbishop complained that the Welsh were 'more cruel than the Saracens', as they delighted in the spilling of blood and would often kill their prisoners even after a ransom had been received.⁷⁴ This did not mean that Pecham saw the Welsh as justifiable targets for warfare, as he wanted a peaceful resolution to the conflict, but he did see them as backward and corrupt, and believed that they would benefit from integration with England. His belief in the need for their religious and moral reform was underlined after the final conquest when, in the summer of 1284, he visited the four dioceses of Wales and set about reforming them under his authority.

Scotland

By the time Edward was fighting his wars in Scotland, the idea of employing crusading ideology in his domestic warfare had developed. There were some parallels here with Simon de Montfort, as Edward had been on crusade, planned to go on crusade again, and yet was hindered from fulfilling his crusading vow by domestic problems.

In 1286 Alexander III of Scotland died, leaving his four-year-old granddaughter, the Maid of Norway, as his only heir. Edward I intended to marry her to his son and heir, Edward of Caernarfon, and set about ruling in her name before she had even been crowned. In 1290, however, Margaret died on her way to Scotland, plunging the country into conflict over the succession. In an attempt to settle the matter, the Guardians of Scotland (the nobles and bishops who ruled in the absence of the king) wrote to Edward I and asked him to arbitrate in their dispute. Edward agreed but demanded that he be recognised as Lord Paramount in Scotland, be given control of Scottish royal castles, and that he appoint Scottish officials. The Scots also had to pay homage to the English king. After an investigation into the various claims, known as the 'Great Cause', Edward found in favour of John Balliol (c.1248–1314), who was crowned in November 1292. John paid homage to Edward, who demanded that the Scottish king provide troops for his invasion of France. John and his nobles, angered at Edward's heavy-handedness, defied the king and entered into an alliance with France in February 1296. Discovering this news, Edward began to reinforce his northern border, while the Scots king summoned his nobles. In the following month, England and Scotland went to war.

At the time of the First Scottish War of Independence, Edward I was a crusader, having taken the Cross in 1287. The Scots were therefore portrayed as enemies of the Holy Land because they were hindering Edward's plans to depart. However, when Boniface VIII became pope in 1294, the relationship between the papacy and the English king changed, as Boniface did not support the war in Scotland. The relationship between king and pope meant that Edward I was unlikely to undertake a crusade at this time, even though the rhetoric of the conflict suggested that he would, if only the Scots would surrender. This did not stop him from continuing to blame the Scots for hindering the crusades into the early 1300s.⁷⁵ Although there may have been a fair share of rhetoric in Edward's complaint, he appears to have maintained his interest in the Holy Land until the end of his

life. According to a song written not long after his death, Edward said to his barons:

I bequeath my heart rightly,
That it be written at my devise,
Over the sea that it be sent,
With fourscore knights all of repute,
In war that are wary and wise,
Against the heathen for to fight,
To win the Cross which lies low;
Myself I would go if I could.

Edward also supposedly complained that the French king was sinning by preventing him from fulfilling his crusade vow:

King of France, though hadst sin,
That thou should seek counsel,
To hinder the will of King Edward
To go to the Holy Land:
That our king had taken in hand
All England to rule and teach,
To go into the Holy Land,
To win us heaven's bliss.⁷⁶

In response to Edward I's status as a champion of Christianity, Scotland's propagandists took on the language of the crusade themselves. In 1296 Scottish clergyman drummed up support for opposition to the English by claiming that 'to fight against Edward I was more justified than fighting against the Saracens'.⁷⁷ In 1306 the bishop of Glasgow encouraged the Scots to fight on behalf of the earl of Carrick, as it was 'just as meritorious to ... wage war against the king of England, who is their sovereign lord, as to go in the service of God to the Holy Land'.⁷⁸ In the next ten years, several Scottish bishops reiterated this idea. By the time of the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320, the Scots were trying to turn the tables on the English king, at this time Edward II, who never took the Cross, by claiming that they were happy to undertake a crusade venture of their own but were prevented by the English. They begged the pope:

bring about peace for us. It truly concerns you to do this holy father, who sees the savagery of the heathen raging against the

Christians, as the sins of Christians have indeed deserved, and the frontiers of Christians being pressed inward day by day; and you must see how much it will tarnish you Holiness's memory if (God forbid it) the Church suffers eclipse or scandal in any branch of it during your time. Then rouse the Christian princes who for false reasons pretend that they cannot go to the help of the Holy Land because of wars they have with their neighbours. The truer reason that prevents them is that in warring on their smaller neighbours they anticipate a readier return and a weaker resistance. But he from whom nothing is hidden well knows how cheerfully we and our lord the king would go there if the king of the English would leave us in peace.⁷⁹

Although no crusade was ever launched against the Scots, or indulgences formally offered to those on either side of the conflict, the English and the Scots played on their claims to want to help the Holy Land in order to portray each other in a poor light. It may not have been as explicit as the role of the crusade in the civil war between the English king and his barons in 1215–17 and the 1260s, but it shows that by the time the Scottish were asserting their independence the idea that obstructing crusaders was the same as betraying the Holy Land was well-established.

Conclusion

What is interesting about the political utilisation of crusading, in its myriad forms, is that although it was employed on both sides in English civil conflicts and Anglo-Scottish relations, neither the Irish nor the Welsh realised the potential for using crusading in this way. When Dafydd could have taken the Cross in 1282 and gained the benefits associated with his new status, he was aware that the archbishop was trying to remove him and refused his offer. The underlying reason, however, for the lack of Irish and Welsh use of crusading is the basic lack of unity in both countries. In Ireland, when Henry II came to exert his authority many of the native rulers saw him as a better alternative to the High King Rory O'Connor and so swore homage instead of uniting against him to keep the English out of Ireland. Wales was similar in that it had no centralised rule, the principalities of Gwynedd, Deheubarth and Powys warring with each other as well as the English. They were aware of how the crusade was used against them, but could

not provide the unity required to turn it on their enemies. This may have been because of their experience of the crusade, which they largely saw 'as part of Canterbury and the Crown's attempts to extend their power'.⁸⁰ On the other hand, though Edward I claimed that the Irish and Welsh wars were hindering his own crusade plans, he did not go as far as to state, on this basis, that they were enemies of Christ, though he did so in his wars with Scotland.

Chapter 5: Domestic Impact

The crusades affected even those who did not take the Cross. Those who went on crusade mortgaged, leased or sold land, which had an impact on family members, while those who made mistakes when doing so often left their families with a legacy of debt and legal problems. The recipients of these lands – as well as those who received gifts and grants from grateful crusaders – were clear beneficiaries of crusading activity, as were those who were able to capitalise on the absence of someone on the crusade. Although measures were put in place to protect family members while a relative was on crusade, some women were abused during their husband's absence and these protections were often ignored.

Involvement from Britain and Ireland in the crusades was also reflected in the arrival of religious bounty; depictions of the crusades and the Holy Land in chronicles, annals, poems and art produced at home; in the treatment of Jews in medieval England; and in the appearance of and attitudes towards Muslims in Britain and Ireland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These reflections give an indication of how Britain and Ireland interacted with what was a wider European movement and of how that movement impacted domestic matters.

Staying at Home

It was possible for the absence of crusaders from all levels of society to have an impact on those left at home, but this was particularly the case when the crusader in question was a powerful individual.

When Richard I went on crusade in 1189, he was aware of the need to secure domestic matters so that the realm of England would be protected while he was absent, as the protection of goods, lands and families was extended to crusaders. Securing peace before a crusade was something the papacy encouraged across Europe throughout the crusades, though such agreements were often ignored. During the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), for example, attempts were made to secure peace between England and France so that a crusade could take place. Cardinal Peter secured a five-year truce between Richard I and Philip Augustus. Innocent declared a peace at the Fourth Lateran Council for four years to benefit the crusade, and he was also keen to secure and maintain peace between Portugal and Castile and between Castile and Léon. As a result of this policy, 'recruitment for the crusade was integrated into the papal peace program'.¹

One of Richard's primary problems was his youngest brother, John, whom Richard feared would try to build up a rival power base in England. To appease him, Richard married him to Isabelle, countess of Gloucester; this lucrative match brought John large estates. In addition, to ensure that John could not foment rebellion, King John had him promise that he would not 'enter England within three years of his pilgrimage'.² Within a year of making the agreement, John had broken it and was trying to take advantage of Richard's absence by making a bid for power in England, laying claim to be Richard's heir. When news reached England that Richard had been taken prisoner, John hired Welsh mercenaries and plotted to seize the throne, but he had little support, as most of England's magnates were conscious of the fact that they would be rebelling against their crusading king. In the end, John's bid for power failed, but it showed how the absence of the king abroad could leave England vulnerable.

Richard had also tried to secure peace in Wales and Scotland, having 'accepted a pledge from the petty kings of the Welsh and the Scots that while he was on pilgrimage they would not cross their borders and do harm to England'.³ Although an agreement was secured, Richard's lack of tact regarding Rhys ap Gruffydd, whom he refused to meet in person to receive homage, meant that the prince was offended; he spent Richard's absence attacking English-held castles in Wales, something he had started to do as soon as he heard of Henry II's death.⁴ Moreover, Prince John managed to hire Welsh mercenaries for his struggle for the throne in England, though

he was not successful in securing support from Scotland. This was because the Scottish king was adhering to the peace he had made with Richard, and the more central control he was able to exert in Scotland stopped other Scotsmen from joining John.

Richard's absence on crusade had an effect on more than just high politics. The sale of offices, removal of experienced men from positions of power, exacting of money, granting of large estates to Prince John, and appointment of the inexperienced William Longchamp to the justiciarship arguably had a negative effect on England. J. T. Appleby, however, suggests that Richard's absence on crusade and then in France was a good thing:

Richard's neglect was England's good fortune. Left almost to their own devices... the barons of England developed a sense of collective responsibility for the good governance of their country that would never have come into being if their king had been constantly amongst them, directing the affairs of the country with a strong hand.⁵

Certainly, those who equipped the king's crusading fleet would have benefited from the expenditure. St Briavel's Castle on the river Wye provided 50,000 horseshoes made with iron from the Forest of Dean for Richard I.⁶ The 'sense of collective responsibility' drew the magnates together and in the long term may have contributed to their attitude to John's heavy-handed rule and the demands put forward in the Magna Carta (1215).

The Lord Edward's absence also had an impact, though not on the scale that had occurred under Richard I. One notable change was the re-emergence of the curial sheriff.⁷ In both Ireland and Wales, Edward ensured that his lands were administered by able men during his absence. However, Edward had been the main military strength of England in the reign of his weaker father, and his absence, coupled with those of many of the leading men of England, did have an impact. According to Margaret Howell, it 'left the government in England vulnerable. Levels of crime were high and the renewed ban on tournaments was not enough to stave off the constant threat of disorder'.⁸ It is interesting to contrast Edward's absence with that of Richard I. Although England had been through a period of civil war in the 1260s, when Henry III died on 16 November 1272 the country was stable enough under the regency of Richard of Cornwall (d. April

1272) and the king's council, which included men such as Robert Burnell, for Edward to take his time returning from the Holy Land, only arriving on 2 August 1274; it is possible that his delay was also lengthened by his need to recover from an assassination attempt.⁹

Conscientious crusaders ensured that they made provisions for their families during their absences. While the Lord Edward was on crusade, his uncle Richard of Cornwall took charge of his domestic interests and cared for his children. The warden of the Fleet prison, Robert of Leaveland, left his daughter and duties in the charge of the archdeacon of Wells (1201), and Ralph de Teoni arranged the marriage of his son to Alice, daughter of the earl of Hereford and Essex.¹⁰ In Scotland, Peter de Laulay and Peter de Brus II arranged the marriages of their children before leaving on crusade in 1240.¹¹ It was no doubt the worry of what would happen in her husband's absence that led Gwenllïan, wife of Rhys ap Gruffydd, to 'put a sudden stop to his noble intentions by playing upon his weakness and exercising her womanly charms'.¹²

Some families were affected by the way lands were sold, leased or mortgaged to pay for the crusades. Legal disputes arose over the terms of leases, and problems occurred when men died on crusade and the inheritance was disputed. Roger de Pole's widow, Alice, sued for the recovery of her husband's lands while he was on crusade (1199). Disputes could last for some time. When Hamo Pecche of Lincolnshire's father went on the Third Crusade, he alienated land to Ramsey Abbey, which was disputed until 1237.¹³ A significant number of crusaders did not return from the Holy Land, which led to disputes over their inheritance. On the day Elias de Kivili set out on crusade in 1203, his lands in Sheppey, Kent, were seized by his father; he died on crusade, and his sister Cecily de Greteness made a claim in court. William Fitz Alexander funded his crusade in 1183 by pledging land to the abbot of Bury for 15 years, but after his death on crusade his daughter, Alice, sued to get it back.¹⁴ Some sensibly sorted out their estates before leaving on crusade. Before leaving in 1270, for example, 'Thomas, son of William of Budworth, styled *crucesignati*, surrendered all his lands and rights in Budworth to Geoffrey [II of Dutton] his lord.'¹⁵ The Geoffrey in question was the knightly son of Geoffrey of Dutton, who participated in the Fifth Crusade under Ranulf, earl of Chester.

For some, the absence of others on crusade created opportunities that might not have been as readily available in other circumstances.

The Lord Rhys used the absence of Richard I and his magnates in the early 1190s to win back further lands in Wales. In Scotland, although William the Lion remained at peace with England, he had managed to capitalise on Richard's need for crusade funds in order to secure the cancellation of the Treaty of Falaise and the return of the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick. The Irish were not usually in a position to capitalise on crusader absences, but in 1270 they did secure victory at the Battle of Ath-an-Chip, when the new Justiciar Robert de Ufford led the settler army to a crushing defeat on the Shannon. Whether the absence of Anglo-Irish nobles had an impact is hard to say, but the loss of potential fighting men cannot have helped.

Going on crusade could also benefit a man on his return, as success on crusade conferred status and kudos on the returned crusader. In France after the First Crusade, Bohemond of Taranto became so famous that people wanted him as godfather to their children.¹⁶ Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, appears to have benefitted from crusade service, though in a somewhat less showy fashion. He served Richard I on crusade, during which he was an able administrator and diplomat. He was also instrumental in raising the money needed for Richard's ransom. Hubert was so successful that the king made him chief justiciar and archbishop of Canterbury. Successful service on crusade, particularly after the death of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, at Acre in 1190, gave Hubert the opportunity to impress his king and earned him promotion on his return to England.¹⁷

Although joining the crusade offered the chance of spiritual reward and military glory, there were also ways that men could benefit if they chose to stay at home. When in August 1270 the Lord Edward was arranging his affairs during his absence on crusade, he appointed a committee of men to look after his family and his interests. One of the men who came to serve on this committee was Robert Burnell, a friend whom Edward appears to have wanted with him in the Holy Land. Edward, however, decided to leave Burnell in England to press his appointment to the recently vacated archbishopric of Canterbury, and in the end this decision to stay at home proved more beneficial than that of serving his master on crusade. In the words of Simon Lloyd, 'by the time Edward returned to England in August 1274, Burnell had exerted his own personality and influence to become the dominant figure in royal government and he was ready to take on the responsibilities of the chancellorship. In his master's absence, he emerged from the shadows of the royal household to assume that

role at the centre of national affairs which he was to play for the next two decades'.¹⁸ Richard Huscroft attributes Burnell's dominance in the years after Edward I's return from crusade to the experience he gained during his master's absence.¹⁹

Staying at home could have its downside too. Women who remained at home while their husbands were on crusade faced a host of potential problems, despite the care their husbands often took to protect their interests. It was not surprising that the women of Hay-on-Wye held on to their husband's cloaks in an attempt to stop them from taking the Cross.²⁰ Dower lands tied up in estates that had been mortgaged to pay for crusading fell prey to unscrupulous claims if the crusader died, leaving some widows fighting legal cases to claim back what was theirs. Some less generous husbands actually sold off these dower lands; when Walter the Tailor did this in the thirteenth century, he essentially left his wife Christina with nothing.²¹ Efforts were made to protect women, as was the case with Ralph de Chall (Yorkshire), who demised two bovates of land to the canons of Easby on the condition that they made payments to his wife while he was on crusade.²² A few women clearly benefited from the absence of crusaders: Richard of Devizes pointed out that Richard I recognised his mother's dower before he left on crusade so that Eleanor was free to enjoy financial independence.²³ Even for women whose fathers or husbands did not fulfil their vows, the prospect of crusading might prompt a marriage or settlement; this may have been why Henry III was keen to marry his daughter Margaret to Alexander III of Scotland in December 1251.

A further problem was the abuse of women during the absence of their husbands. Some unlucky women were forced to remarry, even if they were not sure their husbands had died, as there were unscrupulous men who sought the wealth of their estates. Raymond, nephew of the justiciar Hubert de Burgh, tried to pressure Ela, countess of Salisbury, to marry him in 1226. Her husband was absent on crusade, but there was no proof that he was dead. Others succeeded in their goals only to have the husbands reappear, while some came home to find their daughters had been married off to less than suitable partners. Other women fared far worse. In 1190, when William Trussel went on crusade, his illegitimate half-brother murdered his wife and threw her body into a marl pit. Peter Duffield's wife and Hawisia, niece of Jordan the Tall, were both strangled while their husbands were on the Fifth Crusade.²⁴ Threats to the welfare of crusaders' wives were

certainly sufficiently real for Henry III to secure papal protection for them in 1252. Even if women did not encounter any problems while their husbands were on crusade, events in the Holy Land could still have an impact on their marital fortunes. When Robert V and Robert VI Brus returned from the Lord Edward's crusade, they married the widows of two crusaders, Adam of Jesmond and the earl of Carrick; Robert VI elevated himself to an earldom as a result.²⁵

Religious Building and Benefaction

Many religious institutions benefited from crusading in Britain and Ireland, either through acquiring lands from crusaders in need of funding, being founded by crusaders, benefiting from crusader wills, or receiving gifts associated with crusading that were lucrative, such as relics that would attract pilgrims.

Religious foundations sometimes benefited from lands and gifts given by crusaders before their departure. Such gifts were common, as crusaders prepared themselves for the religious aspect of the journey by courting the favour of God. One of the grander examples was the foundation of the Cistercian house of Vale Royal (Cheshire) in 1270 by the Lord Edward on the eve of his departure on crusade, which gave him 'protection ... and renown'.²⁶ The Templars gained an estate at Hitchin (Hertfordshire) from Bernard de Balliol on the eve of his participation on the Second Crusade, while a man called Gilbert gave a message of land to the Lady Altar at Westminster Abbey 'when he set out for Jerusalem' in c.1189. On the eve of his departure on crusade in 1236, Ralph de Teoni of Painscastle gave the Cistercian abbey of Cwmhir in Wales two granges.²⁷ In Scotland Henry, son of Adam of Lour, donated all the land of Kinreich (Angus) to the Coupar Angus Abbey between 1271 and 1273.²⁸ Other gifts were smaller in size, but no less important. A relic of the Holy Blood was presented to Hailes Abbey in September 1270 by Edmund, earl of Cornwall, before his intended departure on crusade in the spring of 1271. The Holy Blood of Hailes drew crowds of pilgrims and the subsequent wealth led to the building of a shrine for the relic, surrounded by a new apse and five chapels on the east end of the abbey church.²⁹

Crusaders also made gifts to give thanks if they returned safely from the crusades. Robert de Baskerville gave lands to St Peter's, Gloucester, on his return in 1109, while several parish churches supposedly

benefited from grateful crusaders, such as those at Lydbury North and Eyton-on-the-Weald-Moors.³⁰ Many of the foundation attributions are legendary; a member of the Vescy family is supposed to have founded the Carmelite house of Hulne after returning from the 1240 crusade, choosing the site because it reminded him of Mount Carmel, whilst in Ireland Selskar Abbey (County Wexford) was reputedly established by Alexander de la Roche in thanks after his participation in the Third Crusade.³¹ There is also a legend that the Calvary cross built a mile north of Eccles (Berwick) was erected after the Second Crusade by a grateful returned crusader.³² Aside from the more general gifts of thanks, crusaders might also show appreciation for particular services rendered during the crusade. This was the case with Nigel of Amundeville, who gave half a bovat of land in Carlton-le-Moorland to the Brethren of St Lazarus in c.1142 in thanks for assistance he received in the East, perhaps because he suffered from leprosy.³³

Crusaders sometimes also left bequests to beneficiaries if they died during their journeys. When Robert de la Mare was on his deathbed in Benevento in 1192, he drew up a will leaving Uffington to Haugmond Abbey (Shropshire). During the Fifth Crusade John of Harcourt and Emeric of Sacy made similar deathbed bequests, leaving lands to the military orders. Other gifts were made on behalf of deceased crusaders. This was the case when Roger de Mandeville made a grant of the mills at Erlestokes and Stocche to Montacute Priory for the soul of his father, Stephen, who had died 'in an engagement on his way to Jerusalem'.³⁴

Other religious establishments gained from the funding cycle for crusaders through the buying or leasing lands. Jocelyn sold his manor of Ludford (Shropshire) to the nuns of Sixle to raise £100 for his crusade. The abbey of Melrose (Scotland), for example, gained the earl of Dunbar's stud farm in 1247 in return for 100 marks, while it may have been the need for crusading money that prompted men from Innerwick to mortgage lands to Kelso Abbey.³⁵ Strata Florida (Wales) secured the theological works of Gerald of Wales when he sold them to fund his participation in the Third Crusade; Gerald had initially arranged to pledge them in return for a loan, but the monks changed their minds.³⁶ The priory of St Mary at Merton also benefited from the need to raise money for the crusade. The monks received one hundred pounds of silver and six marks of gold for a crusade venture of 1122 in return for confirmation of the establishment of their house under royal patronage.³⁷ Secular churchmen also benefited from the need to raise money. On the eve of the Third Crusade, Richard I sold

the vills and churches of Cannock and Rugeley to Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, even though the lands were not technically free and the bishop had to secure confirmation of the grant from the pope in 1191.³⁸

Several religious sites received funds towards building work as a direct consequence of unfulfilled crusading vows. Adam, abbot of Fountains, redeemed the vow of William the Fat in 1150 in return for his foundation of Meaux Abbey in Yorkshire; it is also possible that the Cistercians benefited from the foundation of Margam in south Wales made by Robert of Gloucester in 1147.³⁹ St David's Cathedral in Wales was able to undertake a rebuilding programme with money raised from unfulfilled vows at the time of the Third Crusade. Gerald of Wales was released from his vow, but as he 'did not have the means, of his own, to fulfil the vow' he was excused, 'provided he gave work and aid to repair the church of St David's'.⁴⁰ Although the cathedral was rebuilt during the reign of Henry I, the visit of Henry II in 1171 boosted the site at St David's and may have prompted the need for a bigger cathedral church. Henry II himself had a vow that was made in relation to the murder of Thomas Becket commuted by the pope. In return, he was instructed to found three religious houses. Of these, the king only founded one, the others (Waltham Abbey and Amesbury Abbey) being refoundations of existing houses.⁴¹

The crusades also had an impact on the artistic motifs of religious buildings. Stories from the crusades were used to decorate religious buildings, as the abbeys of Chertsey, Neath, Tintern, Glastonbury and Cleeve all had floor tiles which depicted the duel of Richard I and Saladin.⁴² The use of crusade-themed images was a reflection of noble tastes, as scenes depicting crusade events were popular with the English Crown. When Henry III took the Cross in 1250, he commissioned paintings depicting the history of Antioch for the Tower of London and Westminster palace, and of the dual of Richard I and Saladin for the Antioch Chamber at Clarendon.⁴³ In 1292-97, Edward I commissioned new murals for the painted chamber at the palace of Westminster. The scenes chosen from the Old Testament referring to the defence of the Holy Land by the Israelites, and in particular to the life of Judas Maccabeus, were driven by the mood of the time. Edward planned to leave on his second crusade in 1293, and Reeve believes that the murals were 'a direct response to the planning of the crusade immediately after the fall of Acre, and it provided the clearest sign of Edward's own resolve to continue the crusade'.⁴⁴

Crusading, together with pilgrimage, brought increased contact with and knowledge of the Holy Land and the Eastern Mediterranean, which had an impact on patterns of piety in medieval Britain and Ireland. Churches built in the style of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem appeared in England during the era of the crusades. Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton, took part in the First Crusade and founded the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Northampton on his return. This church, a half-size copy of its namesake in Jerusalem, was built in thanks for his safe return.⁴⁵ Another round church dedicated to the Sepulchre was built in Cambridge by a group of Augustinian canons by 1130, and it is possible that the round chapel in Ludlow castle was influenced by the crusade involvement of Gilbert de Lacy of Ludlow.⁴⁶ Other round-naved churches and chapels that were built by the military orders existed, such as Garway in Herefordshire or St John the Baptist at Little Maplestead, Essex.⁴⁷ No such crusade-influenced churches survive (if they existed in the first place) in Wales or Ireland, though in Scotland a Church of the Holy Sepulchre existed in Roxburgh, while the pilgrimage activity of earl Hakon led to the construction of the round church at Orphir on the island of Orkney.⁴⁸

Involvement in the crusades was mirrored in some of the church dedications. The choice of patron saint for new churches and hospitals also reflected increased contact with the Mediterranean and Latin East during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. London had hospitals dedicated to the Mediterranean saints Giles, Antonin, Mary of Bethlehem and John of Jerusalem, amongst others, while there was a reliquary at Ruyton-XI-Towns (Shropshire) which held a relic of St Thecla of Iconium.⁴⁹ In Ireland, Bertram de Verdun dedicated the house of the Cruciferi at Dunalk to St Leonard, patron saint of captives and prisoners-of-war, on the eve of his departure to the Holy Land, a choice which may have been motivated by the dangers of capture.⁵⁰ Not all devotions to saints such as George and Sebastien were, however, the result of crusade activity, as their cults had been promoted in many areas before 1095, but even then several of these established cults saw an increase in devotion.⁵¹

Supernatural Bounty

Religious establishments in Britain and Ireland, as elsewhere in Europe, benefited from the 'supernatural bounty' brought back from

the crusades. One of the most popular of the relics associated with the crusades was the True Cross. The priest of Bromholm Priory in Norfolk brought back a piece from Constantinople in c.1205.⁵² The priest had joined the Fourth Crusade and become the Emperor of Constantinople's chaplain, but fled the empire with two fingers of St Margaret, which he sold to St Alban's Abbey. Siedschlag believed that this priest was the only person who brought relics back to England as part of the Fourth Crusade.⁵³ Relics were returned at other times though, as St John's Cathedral in Chester held a piece of the True Cross that could have been brought back by a participant in the Fifth Crusade, and in 1231 Peter des Roches brought home a foot relic of St Philip from crusade and gave it to the monks at Winchester.⁵⁴

These relics were important for directing the fortunes of the houses they were given to. The Holy Blood of Hailes was given a special shrine and two priests, and it fast became a centre of pilgrimage offering indulgences. Bromholm was attracting pilgrims by the early 1220s and was patronised by Henry III and Edward II. Hailes and Bromholm were popular throughout the rest of the medieval period – so much so that they were referred to in such popular works as the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, the work of Margery Kempe, and the *Canterbury Tales*.⁵⁵ The Holy Blood given to Henry III 'in a phial of the most beautiful crystal' was presented to Westminster Abbey in October 1247 and prompted a large rebuilding programme, though the authenticity of the relic was doubted and it never became as popular as the other blood relics.⁵⁶

Other non-religious items found their way to Britain and Ireland as a result of the crusades. Henry Laing believed that the jewels used to create impressions in the seals of Eustace de Vescy, William Avenel and Simon de Lindsey of Roxburghshire were a result of Scottish contacts with such jewels on crusade.⁵⁷ Alexander I of Scotland (d.1124) received a suit of Turkish armour and an Arabian horse that probably came from returning crusaders.⁵⁸ There are also popular traditions that Ireland's Blarney Stone came from the Temple of Solomon and that the mazer bowl at Strata Florida abbey in Wales was in fact the Holy Grail, brought back from the Holy Land by a returning crusader, though there is no credible evidence for either claim.⁵⁹ Peter des Roches gave Matthew Paris a copy of a work on the marvels of the East by William, archbishop of Tyre, when he returned from crusade.⁶⁰ Far less illustrious items also came home with crusaders; the fourteenth-century Scottish work *Scalachronica* even suggests that sheep scab was

brought to England in the 1270s by crusaders who came home with 'sheep with great tails from Cyprus'.⁶¹

It is worth remembering that the transport of relics worked in both directions. At the end of the thirteenth century some unidentified Irish crusaders set out for the Holy Land via Portugal. They never fulfilled their vows. As they carried the head of the Irish saint Brigid with them, in 1283, they chose to stay in Portugal with the relic instead of journeying on. The truth of the story is impossible to verify, and why they were sailing around Europe with a saint's head no clearer, but it is interesting to speculate that the one crusading legacy Ireland did produce was the establishment of a cult to an Irish saint on the Iberian Peninsula at the church of Lumiar at the end of the thirteenth century. There are no recorded Irish crusaders in the last decade of the thirteenth century.

The Literary Response

The crusades had a significant impact on the literature produced in Britain and Ireland, though it varies widely from place to place, genre to genre, and over time. From the end of the eleventh century, events in the Latin East and the efforts made to recruit for the crusades found their way into monastic annals and chronicles, with some demonstrating detailed knowledge regarding events in which the authors usually played no part. Not all writers showed a high level of interest – the Irish works are particularly lacking in information – but elsewhere writers such as Matthew Paris and Roger of Howden showed interest in and knowledge of events in the East as well as their impact on domestic matters.

Other forms of writing also reflected themes, events and ideas from the crusade. The military orders were frequently referred to, often with criticism, while heroic figures such as Richard I were the focus of works that praised their crusading activities. Finally, the popularity of works with a similar theme to the crusades, those of Charlemagne and Roland and their exploits against the Saracens, first appeared in France, became popular north of the Channel and were translated into some of the vernacular languages of Britain and Ireland.

References to the crusades in the chronicles and annals of medieval England vary in detail and range depending on when and where they were written. The First and Second Crusades were not covered in

any significant detail compared to later ventures. Some writers, such as William of Malmesbury, who was writing about English history, included lengthy accounts of the First Crusade, not because they were central to their own histories but because they were important to wider European history. His account contains some interesting information not found in any other source, and his account of Mohammed is quite unusual.⁶² John of Salisbury was the most informed English writer on the Second Crusade, but he did not write *in* England. Although crusading to the Holy Land at the time of the Second Crusade attracted attention (William of Newburgh, for example, understood the causes of the Second Crusade), no English writers mentioned the crusade in the Baltic (1147). The Lisbon crusade (1147) was referred to by Robert of Torigni and Henry of Huntingdon (unsurprising as it included Anglo-Norman participants), though no works treated the crusade at any length; they were more concerned with the civil war in England than with a crusade, which was predominantly a Franco-German affair.

This all changed with the Third Crusade due, for the most part, to the participation of Richard I. As kings and nobles formed the central characters in many chronicles and annals, it is not surprising that their crusade activities were recorded. The chroniclers Ralph of Diceto, William of Newburgh and Ralph of Coggeshall all discuss the crusade or its preceding events, while Roger of Howden took part in the Third Crusade and so included detailed information on events in the Holy Land during those years. The detail of Richard I's crusade activity in particular was the subject of two works, the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* and the French verse work of Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*.⁶³ The *Itinerarium* is the most complete account of the Third Crusade and is largely based on eyewitness information. The popularity of the crusade in English writing at this time is clear from the work of Walter Map, who wrote for the entertainment of Henry II's court, as he included crusade tales in his *De Nugis Curialium* (*Courtier's Trifles*).⁶⁴

In the thirteenth century, coverage of crusading again varied. Ralph of Coggeshall included a good account of the Fourth Crusade, but most other works ignored it, probably because few Englishmen took part.⁶⁵ One of the most prolific commentators on the crusades of the thirteenth century was Matthew Paris, monk of St Albans, who wrote from c.1236 to 1259. He was well informed on the crusades, borrowing from earlier works for some passages but also gaining

first-hand information from Henry III, Richard of Cornwall, the Master of the Temple in Scotland and many others who had a role in the crusades.⁶⁶ The appendix of documents he attached to his *Chronica Majora* included a document on the crusade of St Louis, and the main body of the work gives an interesting account of the crusade of Richard of Cornwall and of the Shepherd's Crusade of the 1250s.⁶⁷ Matthew spent a lot of time recording the names of crusader heroes and saints. One of his sources was the *Chronicle* of William of Tyre, which had come to England by the end of the twelfth century; another copy, possibly that used by Paris, was brought back from the Holy Land by Peter des Roches.⁶⁸ He included detailed information on the crusader William Longespee and Richard of Cornwall's account of his crusade of 1240.⁶⁹ He was sufficiently interested in the Fifth Crusade to include detailed marginal illustrations on the events at Damietta, including one of the Tower of Chains that stretched across the Nile.

Some of Matthew Paris's commentary on events relating to the crusades was critical, as he was 'enthusiastic for a certain form of crusading', rather than all forms of the enterprise, such as crusades against Christendom's internal enemies, which distracted from fighting in the Latin East.⁷⁰ He complained about the collection of papal taxes in England in the name of the crusade and showed how his contemporaries were sceptical about Henry III's motivations.⁷¹ He saved many of his complaints for the Military Orders. Most works, particularly those which cover the Templars and Hospitallers in the twelfth century, simply referred to their foundations, grants and activities, but from the late twelfth century onwards, at a time when criticism of the crusade in general was emerging, several writers began to attack the military orders, in particular the Templars. This was largely because of the difference in the orders: the Hospitallers started as a charitable order caring for pilgrims and the sick, whereas the Templars were founded as a military order for the defence of the Holy Land, an idea some found hard to reconcile. Walter Map and John of Salisbury were critical of both orders, though they also acknowledged their good qualities. Walter Map praised the Templars 'when they held God dear and the world cheap' and commented that although stories suggested that the Templars in the Holy Land may have been corrupt, 'here with us they live harmlessly enough'. John of Salisbury praised the Hospitallers for obeying Christ, but he also lamented that among the orders 'are found both faithful and

the reprobate' and found it hard to reconcile that men who could shed blood would also administer the sacrament in churches via surrogates.⁷²

Matthew Paris's attitude to the military orders changed in his entries from the late 1220s onwards. He was generous to them in the period before the Third Crusade and gave them credit for action in the Fifth Crusade, but the tone of his works changed after this. Sophie Menache argued Matthew's prejudice about the Templars was not entirely linked to their role in the crusades, as their international role at the time and increasing hostility to France may have coloured his view.⁷³ How critical he was of the Templars in particular has been debated – for example, Helen Nicholson believes it contained more animosity than Sophia Menache allows for – but there was a clear change in his tone. Matthew criticised the order for neglecting humility and for plotting against Frederick II. He also attacked them for taking money from Christendom 'as if they plunged into the abyss of the Lower World'.⁷⁴ They tried to engineer the murder of Frederick II by colluding with the Sultan of Egypt, who was appalled at their lack of Christian loyalty, a plan that had the opposite effect.⁷⁵ Although Matthew complained about the actions of both the Templars and the Hospitallers, he was more critical of the Templars and often accused them of harassing the Hospitallers and the Teutonic knights.⁷⁶

In his *Life of St Alban* (c.1230–1250), Matthew Paris demonstrated his attitude to the enemies of Christianity as, although St Alban lived in the third century, Paris took the pagan Romano-British characters from William of St Alban's *The Passion of St. Alban* and changed them into Saracens. This aspect of his work says more about thirteenth-century attitudes to contemporary issues – such as the loss of Jerusalem and the crusade of 1240 – than views of the past, as a succession of failures in the Latin East made the Muslim threat a reality.⁷⁷ It also says a lot about how Matthew's contemporaries viewed this threat, as the *Life* was intended for patrons at the court of Henry III. In this work, as in the *Chronica Majora*, Matthew Paris was reflecting the contemporary fear of the rise of Islamic power as 'a real and present threat'.⁷⁸

As the thirteenth century progressed, criticism continued. One of the primary charges levelled at the orders was that they had the means to defend the Holy Land (as they had become wealthy) but chose not to. This was the accusation directed at them by Richard of Mepham, dean of Lincoln.⁷⁹ The loss of Christian land in the Latin East and the

movement of the Templars from the Holy Land to Limassol saw their contribution to the crusades diminish, and in the last decades of the thirteenth century there were calls for them to be amalgamated with the other military orders so that they would all be more efficient. In the end, the Templars were denounced across Europe, put on trial, and dissolved in 1312, but they had been under attack in written works for over a century before this time.

Scottish works have only a few references to the crusades. This was not necessarily due to a lack of interest in crusading, as so many works are lost that it is hard to determine what the original impact of the crusades on Scottish works was. The most important surviving work, the *Chronicle of Melrose*, covered some crusading information, but it is 'capricious' in its coverage of international affairs.⁸⁰ A lot of the information included appears to have been borrowed from other manuscripts. The entry on the fall of Edessa (1145), for example, may have come from the Norman monk Robert of Torigni (d.1186). Other information, such as on the defeat at Hattin in 1187, the crusades of the 1190s, and the Albigensians, are similar to other Cistercian works and are probably derived from information circulated through the Cistercian houses.⁸¹ Some passages – notably the Lord Edward's raid at Caconia and the capture of the Scottish squire – appear to have been included because of their interest to Scotland.⁸² The *Chronicle of Holyrood* makes a passing reference to the calling of the First Crusade, the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem, and the Second Crusade, and notes that although the Christian defeat in the Holy Land in 1188 inspired Henry II of England to take the Cross, he soon laid his vow aside to wage war on the French king.⁸³ The other surviving works from Scotland are much later in date and, while in many places they use now-lost twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts, this does not appear to be the case for the scant reference to the crusades.⁸⁴ Interestingly, the information included refers to crusade-linked events of the twelfth century, while participation from Scotland – at least from among the nobles – occurred after 1200.

There were only a few annals written in Ireland at the time of the crusades; most of the other historical works which cover this period were written after 1300, using earlier sources for their information. These annals fall into two types: those written in Gaelic-held areas of Ireland and those produced in religious houses under Anglo-Irish influences. Compared to English historical works, they say little on the crusades, though those from the Anglo-Irish areas say marginally

more than the native Gaelic works. Of the works originally written during the period before 1300 in Irish-held areas – the works of Ulster, Connaught and Loch Cé – there are only a handful of brief entries. The crusade of Louis IX from 1248–54 appears to have elicited a little more interest than other crusades, though even then coverage is restricted to one-line entries on the start and end of the crusade.

The most interesting of the works produced in Ireland is the *Multyfarnham Annals*, written by the Franciscan Stephen d'Exeter in the 1270s. Based on a lost Cistercian source, these annals contain the most references to crusading of all the Irish works, perhaps unsurprising as they were written very soon after the Lord Edward's Crusade (1270–72), in which several Anglo-Irish noblemen took part. It is the only work to refer to the preaching of the First Crusade, the fall of Jerusalem, the deaths of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Jerusalem, and the fall of Ascalon in 1152, and it is also the only work to refer to the crusade of Richard of Cornwall in 1240. Although the Multyfarnham work was written by a friar, it based some of its sections on Cistercian sources, some still extant, and it is possible that Stephen d'Exeter gained a lot of his information from these works. Cistercian chronicles from across Britain and Ireland demonstrate a high level of interest in crusading, and information was passed through the network of Cistercian monasteries, so the greater level of detail in this work could be a result of this influence.⁸⁵

Overall, however, there is a comparative paucity of references in Irish and Scottish works to the crusades. This is probably a reflection of the lower levels of participation from these areas and the weaker links of the abbeys at which many of these works were written with the Anglo-Norman settlers who tended to fill the crusade contingents from Britain and Ireland. Chronicles written in Ireland tended to be very insular, and when references to external events do occur, they tend to focus on Scotland and the north instead of continental Europe and the distant Holy Land. Moreover, the lack of information in Irish and Scottish works relating to the crusades underscores how willingness to engage with the crusade was heavily influenced by local factors, as some areas only demonstrated an interest and awareness of crusading events in their works, while others ignored it completely.

The Welsh chronicles and annals do not cover the crusades to the Holy Land in as much detail as the works from England, but they still contain a reasonable level of information, which reflects the places in

which they were written and the response to the crusades in Wales. They are significantly more detailed than the Irish and Scottish works. The key chronicles are two versions of the *Brut y Tywysogyon* (*Chronicle of the Princes*), the *Brenhinedd y Saesson* (another version of the same work), and the *Annales Cambriae*, a composite name for works including annals produced at Neath Abbey and the annals written at Margam Abbey. All of the works are Cistercian in origin, though the *Brutiau* and *Brenhinedd* are native Welsh works, while the others are Cambro-Latin compositions. Another work, the *Margam Annales*, was written at Margam Abbey in the Norman-held area of Glamorgan, while a work produced at Aberconwy Abbey in North Wales has nothing to say on the crusades.

The earliest reference to the crusades in the Welsh works comes under the year 1094, when the *Brutiau* make note of Robert Curthose's crusade, though under the wrong year. There is no sense that this is part of a European-wide phenomenon or that anything unusual was occurring. This is the tenor of the Welsh chronicles for most of the twelfth century. Entries are limited to recording the name of one princely crusader – Morgan ap Cadwgan (1128) – and a group of pilgrims to Jerusalem in 1144, while the Second Crusade is only referred to in order to note the absence of Louis VII and Conrad III in the East. The *Annales Cambriae* completely ignores it. In the 1180s the *Brutiau* start to notice the problems in the East, but these were again ignored by the *Annales Cambriae*. On the other hand, this work is the only one to identify the recruitment tour of the Archbishop Baldwin around Wales in 1188, which is surprising when it is considered that the archbishop stayed at Strata Florida, one of the sites of composition for the *Brut y Tywysogyon*. Here the *Margam Annals*, for the first time not copying crusade information from sources such as William of Malmesbury, records the first interesting snippet of crusade information. Under the entry for 1187 the scribe demonstrated knowledge of events leading to the fall of Jerusalem, such as the battles of Cresson and Hattin. The century ends with some brief references to the events of the Third Crusade and the ransom of Richard I.

The thirteenth-century crusades are covered in more detail by all of the works. The Fifth Crusade is covered in particular detail in the *Brutiau* and *Brenhinedd*, perhaps because of the close links between north Wales and Cheshire at this time, and include the names of participants and details on the events surrounding the capture of

Damietta. Although much shorter, at least one of the works records the crusade of Richard of Cornwall (1240), Louis IX (1249) and the Lord Edward (1270). Again, the *Annales Cambriae* ignores this last crusade, even though for the years after 1263 this work was more interested in Edward than in Welsh affairs. The Margam work is also interested in some of these events, but is more interested in crusading in Spain, in particular a rout near Alange in 1229 in which two saints appeared to the Christian army. On the whole, the Welsh works are more interested in external events than, say, those from Ireland, as they include information on France, Ireland, Scotland and England, while the Margam work is more interested in English than Welsh affairs. But even then events beyond England are not often included, suggesting that the crusades were of particular interest and that their extraordinary nature registered with the monastic scribes.

Information in the chronicles, annals and histories came from a variety of sources. Occasionally it came from those who had taken part in the crusades. Roger of Howden went on the Third Crusade and used sources, such as journals, from those who accompanied Richard I.⁸⁶ The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, describing Richard I's activities on crusade, was probably based on lost eyewitness accounts. Ralph of Coggeshall received information on Richard I's capture and imprisonment from the king's chaplain Anselm, who had been with him at the time, and gained information on his fight with the Saracens in 1191 from Hugh de Neville, who had taken part.⁸⁷ Matthew Paris gained information on matters relating to the crusades from the master of the Temple in Scotland and Richard, earl of Cornwall.⁸⁸ Much of the information relating to the crusades also reached England via letters sent from the East. Benedict of Peterborough's work included letters on the Third Crusade, and Walter of Coventry referred to letters sent by Pope Honorius III when discussing the crusade in 1219. Richard I also sent three newsletters to Europe from the Holy Land describing his conquests that provided a lot of detail.⁸⁹

The environment in which most of these historical works were composed – in the monasteries of Britain and Ireland – had an impact on their contents, reflecting the interests of individual scribes, monastic institutions, whole orders or the localities in which they were written. These works were intended for monastic libraries, where they would sit alongside works on law and theology, classical works, medical works, hagiographies and histories and, although primarily intended for consultation by those within the house, monasteries and

priorities also circulated works from one house to another, so sections from particular works might be copied into histories composed in other houses. In this way, similar information relating to the crusades might surface in works from several different houses and tell the historian nothing new about the crusades themselves. However, although a large amount of copying took place, the fact that information was borrowed in this way reflects the interests of the scribe or scribes who copied such works, as they still chose what to include and what to exclude.

In addition to influencing historical works, crusading also had an impact on some of the poetry produced in Britain and Ireland. Sometimes it led to the insertion of themes and motifs related to crusading and the Holy Land; other times poems were written specifically to support or condemn the crusade, such as the two poems produced by the abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester, in the thirteenth century. The first supports the idea of crusade, while the other attacks it, warning the reader of the danger of listening to crusade preachers.⁹⁰ Matthew of Rievaulx also wrote poems on the Third and Fourth Crusades, celebrating the capture of Constantinople and expressing the hope that it would open the way to the Holy Land.⁹¹

In Wales there were no poems devoted exclusively to the crusades, though crusade-linked themes appeared in the poetry of Elidir Sais, Einion Wan and Llywelyn ap Llywarch.⁹² From the Scoto-Irish poets, however, four poems that refer to the Fifth Crusade survive, two by Muiredach Albanach, (fl. 1200-24), poet to the Ó Domhnaill kings of western Ulster, who was in exile in Scotland after c.1213, and two by the Scotsman Gille-Brighde Albanach. The two men appear to have gone on crusade together, as the poems describe their journey to Damietta via Acre and their return through the Mediterranean, where some of their party died.⁹³

The crusade activities of Richard I also prompted a flourishing of literature related to both his crusade and his time in captivity, and created a legend of a chivalric king that perhaps did not fit the reality. By the mid-thirteenth century Richard's fictional meeting with Saladin developed into the stuff of legend and became the focus of a heroic poem on the king in the fourteenth century.⁹⁴ His capture and imprisonment by Leopold of Austria was also the focus of legend. The fictitious minstrel Blondel, who found the king by singing outside the castles of Europe, first appeared in France c.1260, though this legend was not as popular as that of the duel between Richard and Saladin.⁹⁵

Even chroniclers tended to emphasize his valour. The chroniclers Richard of Devises, William of Newburgh, Gervase of Canterbury and Ralph of Diss, among others, praised Richard I for his achievements on crusade. Ralph of Coggeshall also suggested that Richard had disguised himself as a Templar to escape his pursuers.⁹⁶ Not every writer, however, was thrilled by tales of Richard's exploits; the author of the *History of William Marshal* declared he would not cover the Third Crusade in his work because 'it is not my subject'.⁹⁷

Legendary themes related to the crusades also rose in popularity across Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among the most popular were tales from the Charlemagne Cycle – romantic stories based around the fictitious heroic exploits of the Emperor Charlemagne (d.814) and his knights, who fought against the Saracens in the Mediterranean. The first of these to be translated in Britain and Ireland was the *Pseudo-Turpin*, which was rendered into Anglo-Norman in the second decade of the thirteenth century on the instructions of Alice de Curcy and her husband Warin FitzGerold, a crusader.⁹⁸ In the following decade the *Song of Roland* was translated into Welsh as the *Cân Rolant*; it was commissioned by Reginald, king of Man in c.1220, but as the work was completed at Llanbadarn Fawr in mid-Wales, the poem was completed in Welsh. The *Pseudo-Turpin* was also translated by the Welshman Madoc ap Selyf between 1265 and 1283 for a prince of Deheubarth, and there are Welsh versions of the *History of Charlemagne* and *Gests of Charlemagne*.⁹⁹ The tales may have been translated into Anglo-Norman and Welsh in order to drum up support for the crusades, though they may equally have been intended for entertainment purposes, as the language of translations such as the *Cân Rolant* was made more violent to fit in with Welsh tastes.

There was no similar flourishing of translation in Scotland or Ireland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Parts of the Charlemagne Cycle must, however, have been known in Scotland. Robert the Bruce allegedly recited a version of the *Roman de fierebras* to his outnumbered forces as they crossed Loch Lomond in the summer of 1306 to face Edward I.¹⁰⁰ In Ireland writers preferred to concentrate on insular subject matter (as they did in their histories) and left out works with crusading undertones.¹⁰¹ The crusading references in Irish works were confined to works which did not draw on the Charlemagne Cycle. There were the *Vision of Tungdale*, in which the hero vowed to go to Jerusalem, and *The Treatise of St Patrick's Purgatory*

of the 1180s, in which an Irish knight, called Owain, repented of his service under King Stephen in England and 'became a crusader out of love'.¹⁰² As a result, the first vernacular translation of *The Conquest of Charlemagne* did not take place until c.1400.¹⁰³ The lack of translations from the Charlemagne Cycle in Scotland and Ireland reflects the overall paucity of crusade references in historical works and the lower levels of participation throughout most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Although much of the information recorded in the written works was purely factual, several writers also expressed their views on the crusades. Criticism of crusading appeared in England and Wales from the period after the Second Crusade, as people sought to apportion blame for the failure of the crusading armies. This was not unusual, as across Europe writers such as Odo of Deuil and the annalist of Würzburg attacked those who promoted and participated in the crusades.

One of the more prolific critics of the Third Crusade was Gerald of Wales. Crusading itself was clearly important to Gerald, as he wrote about it in several works, took the Cross and assisted in the preaching tour of 1188. Initially, his tone had been enthusiastic, and Gerald was supportive of Henry II's desire to go on crusade. In his following work, he was also keen, but by the summer of 1189 doubts were starting to creep in to his work, and he was increasingly critical of the obstacles delaying the departure of the crusade. In the *Itinerarium Kambriae* Gerald complained that the crusade

[w]as delayed because of the dilatory behaviour of the Holy Roman Emperor, the dissensions which arose between our own kings, and the unexpected and premature death of the King of Sicily... The consequences of his death were that a violent quarrel ensued among our kings over their rights to the suzerainty, the roads across Europe were left unprotected, the faithful beyond the sea suffered severely from hunger and want, and they were left surrounded by their enemies in their moment of need.¹⁰⁴

Gerald's concern about the failure to help the Holy Land was so strong that he even dreamed that he saw God being dragged from his throne, a clear warning of the Muslim threat in the East. In *De principis instructione* (*The Instruction of Princes*) Gerald wrote more extensively on Henry II's failure to help the Holy Land, claiming that

the king's domestic problems were the result of his failure to go on crusade, as Henry continually made excuses not to fulfil his vow.¹⁰⁵ Other writers echoed Gerald's concerns. Ralph Niger, archdeacon of Gloucester, wrote a treaty called *De re militari*, which was critical of the Third Crusade, and in his chronicle *Chronica Universalis* he, like Gerald, complained about Henry II's failure to join the crusade and about the delays which affected its departure.¹⁰⁶ In the thirteenth century, criticism of crusading itself increased in line with opinion in Europe as a whole, though not all writers were negative. Thomas Wykes (d.1293) described William Longespee (d.1250) as 'the most robust knight, the most invincible champion of Christ' after he died at the Battle of Mansurah, showing that courageous crusaders might still attract praise from English writers.¹⁰⁷

The Impact on Jews

One of the most infamous domestic impacts of the crusades in England was on Jews. Although they did not, by virtue of their religion, take part in the crusades, they felt the effects through attacks on their communities and demands for taxation. Although this was part of a wider European phenomenon, the impact of the crusades on Jewish communities in England was part of their history in England, which involved exploitation and persecution and led to their eventual expulsion in 1290.

Permanent Jewish communities were brought to settle in England from Rouen by William I after 1066; although there may have been Jews in England before this time, they appear to have been itinerant. The same was true of Scotland, Wales and Ireland, where there were no Jewish communities. Their treatment was largely dependent upon the attitude of the king, who essentially 'owned' the Jewry, though popular beliefs in their engagement in Blood Libels and complicity in the murder of Christ made them targets of violence and persecution. Although Jews were initially settled in London, they spread across England in the twelfth century to other towns where Norman castles could afford them protection, and by 1189 there were twenty-four Jewries in England.

Relations between Jewish and Christian neighbours in England in the twelfth century were not harmonious. In 1144, for example, Jews in Norwich were accused of ritually sacrificing a Christian child called

William. Such accusations tended to be localised, however, and there were no widespread attacks on English Jews. This changed in late 1189, when rioting against Jews broke out in London. Deputations of Jews visited Westminster Hall while Richard I's coronation festivities were in progress, but they were turned away. This provoked rioting and an attack on the Jewish quarter. According to Richard of Devizes,

On that same coronation day, at about the hour of that solemnity in which the Son was immolated to the Father, they began in the city of London to immolate the Jews to their father, the devil. It took them so long to celebrate this mystery that the holocaust was barely completed on the second day. The other towns and cities of the country emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with equal devotion they dispatched their blood-suckers bloodily to hell... Winchester alone spared its worms.¹⁰⁸

These 'other towns and cities' – Lynn, Norwich, Stamford, Lincoln, York and Bury St Edmunds – were attacked in early 1190 as Richard I was setting out on crusade. Richard had tried to stop these further outbreaks by sending letters ordering peace throughout England.¹⁰⁹ The attacks in East Anglia may have been a reflection of the types of crusaders who joined from this area at the time. A list of crusaders in south-east Lincolnshire in 1197 suggests that they were predominantly members of the artisan and merchant class, those who lived alongside the Jews and who perhaps might have been jealous of their wealth.

The attacks were at their worst in York, where on Friday, 16 March 1190, prominent Jews were murdered or committed suicide. Attacked by the citizens of the town, they fled for protection to Clifford's Tower. They were offered their lives if they accepted baptism into the Christian faith, but they rejected this and chose suicide instead. According to William of Newburgh,

The nobility of the city, and the more respectable citizens, apprehending danger from this commotion, cautiously declined to join such a riot; but the whole class of workmen, and all the young men in the city, with a very great mob of country people, and not a few military men, assisted with such alacrity, and urged forward the work of blood, as if each one sought his own private advantage, and something great for himself. Many of the clergy, too, were present;

and among them a certain hermit, who appeared more fervent than the rest.

Although linked to crusading, there was clearly a financial motive behind the attacks. Once the Jews in the tower had been massacred, their attackers

proceeded immediately to the cathedral church and, by violent representations, compelled the terrified wardens to deliver up the acknowledgments of the debts by which the Christians were bound, and which had been deposited there by the Jews, who were the farmers of the royal revenues, having obtained possession of those evidences of detestable avarice, they solemnly committed them to the flames in the midst of the church, and thus freed themselves and many others from their bonds.¹¹⁰

William of Newburgh concentrated on the wealth of those Jews in York, complaining about the lavish houses they lived in and their treatment of Christians in debt. The leadership of the attacks by men who owed Jews money underlines that there was a financial motive; the attackers may have been using the mood created by crusade fervour as an opportunity to take revenge.

Dobson suggests that Jews were attacked because of heightened tensions borne of crusading fervour, though 'such violent demonstrations of feeling were at the same time the consequence of a rising tide of anti-Jewish sentiment during the previous decades'.¹¹¹ Jewish financial expansion in England and the rise of anti-Jewish sentiment across Europe after the Third Lateran Council of 1179 were also contributory factors to the massacres, but it was the feeling stirred up by the crusade which proved the spark to this particular powder keg. At Stamford, where Jews were attacked on 7 March 1190, the Lenten Fair meant a busy town full of people, including some young crusaders. They set upon Jews, as they were wealthy, while the crusaders were struggling to pay for their own venture. Dobson also suggests that England's close links with northern France at this time, where there had been Jewish massacres at Blois (1171) following an accusation of Blood Libel, played a part.¹¹² Hostility to Jews was also increasing following the murder of Christian boys as part of alleged blood libels in 1168, 1181 and 1183. Moreover, in July 1189 Henry II, 'the most formidable of all royal protectors of the English Jews'

died. There were circumstances particular to York – the absence of local powerful lords overseas and the imposition of Richard I's illegitimate brother to the see of York in 1189 – that created tensions in the city. Moreover, local lords were increasingly turning to Jews for money, whereas they had previously been able to finance credit from Christian moneylenders. It is also possible that the role of Jewish moneylenders in York had suddenly peaked after the death of Aaron of Lincoln, the most successful of all usurers, in 1186. After his death, Josce and Benedict of York came to the fore, increasing the financial power of the York Jews.¹¹³

Despite the severity of the attacks, the English were much slower to engage in attacks to the atmosphere engendered by an impending crusade than were people elsewhere in Europe. Pogroms against Jews had been prominent on the continent at the times of the First and Second Crusades, predominantly in the Rhineland, but they did not occur in England until the time of the Third Crusade. This was due, in part, to the protection of the Crown, as King Stephen was praised by the Jewish writer Ephraim of Bonn for 'putting it into his heart to protect them [the Jews] and save their lives and property'.¹¹⁴ It may also have been the case that the lack of mass participation meant that Jews escaped the attention of populist hatred. Moreover, Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to the English (and others) in 1146 to recruit for the crusade and warned them not to persecute, kill or expel Jews.¹¹⁵

In the thirteenth century there were concerted efforts to protect Jews from attacks by prospective crusaders. In the spring of 1218 Gloucester, Lincoln, Oxford and Bristol appointed commissioners of burgesses to protect Jews.¹¹⁶ Some men ensured that they settled debts with Jews before leaving on crusade. In the late 1230s Ralph of Ringstone sold his estate at Clapton to pay Aaron of York 100 marks and interest, and Robert of Fraxineto settled his debts to two Jews in Colchester. In 1237, however, the crusader Master Robert of Gloucester accused Jewish moneylenders of charging excessive interest. Henry III was criticised by his barons for allowing these charges to be levied against crusaders, so he issued a grant stating that interest could not be charged for five years and passed the Statute of Jewry in 1253, but there were still abuses of the system.¹¹⁷ The statutes were part of his own preparations for crusade.¹¹⁸ In the parliament of October 1269 further ordinances restricted the moneylending of Jews, perhaps to offer relief to Christian debtors so that they might more easily contribute to the crusade tax.¹¹⁹

Money was at the heart of the way in which Jews felt the effects of the crusade, as they were expected to fund the activities of their Christian neighbours. This meant that they were expected to contribute more than Christians towards the crusades. When the Saladin Tithe was gathered in 1188, Richard I demanded the value of a quarter of the movables from the English Jewry, which was almost as much as the contribution of the rest of the English population.¹²⁰ They were in no position to refuse, as the king controlled their finances. In early 1237 Henry III instructed the English Jews to pay his brother Richard 3,000 marks to fund his crusade, and in 1270 he granted his son Edward 6,000 marks for the same purpose. In the second case, Jews only contributed two-thirds of the total. In the following year Henry mortgaged those Jews in England to his brother Richard, raising another £1,333 6s 9d for the crusade.¹²¹

In 1290 Edward I finally expelled Jews from England. There were several motivating factors, but the crusade played a part. The king was planning another crusade and his knights refused to contribute financially, as they owed money to Jews. The price for their compliance was expulsion. In the end, Edward's crusade vow of 1287 went unfulfilled, leading Mundill to speculate that Edward's expulsion of Jews may have been his alternative way of putting down Christianity's enemies.¹²² Although only a small community, the English Jews suffered disproportionately as a result of the crusades; for them the movement can only have had negative connotations.

Muslims in Britain and Ireland

Another minority group in England on which the crusades had an impact was the Muslim population. It can be hard to identify Muslims in Britain and Ireland as, although the word Saracen was known from the eighth century, by c.1300 it was used to describe non-Christians such as Vikings.¹²³ The number of Muslims in Britain and Ireland in the period from 1000 to 1300 was very small. Henry II had Muslim mercenaries in his army, as did Richard I, who allegedly brought 120 Saracen mercenaries from the Holy Land; Saracens are referred to in the administrative records of the 1190s, though they were probably in service in Normandy, not England.¹²⁴ There may have been Muslims in the service of Ranulf, earl of Chester, in the thirteenth century, as two men, Robert and Radulf Sarracenis, are mentioned in witness lists

on several of his charters.¹²⁵ All of this service appears to have been a direct consequence of the crusades, though trade also accounted for interaction between Muslims and Christians and for the appearance of Muslims in England.

Attitudes to Muslims also changed in written works as a result of the crusades. In the period before the First Crusade views of Saracens were largely static, and the Anglo-Saxons showed only a limited interest in the Muslim world.¹²⁶ Early writers were often confused as to who was in control of the Holy Land; the Welsh churchman Rhigyfarch, writing in the 1090s, complained of the 'power of the Jews against the Christians' in the East, not that of the Saracens.¹²⁷ Even after the First Crusade, understanding was limited. William of Malmesbury, however, was aware that Mohammed was Islam's prophet, not its god, and Gerald of Wales wrote a brief biography of the prophet in his *De principis instructione*.¹²⁸ Saracens also appeared in fictitious works – such as the *Charlemagne Cycle* – as well as sermons, travel literature, maps and manuscript illustrations. Matthew Paris, for example, included illustrations of Saladin in his *Chronica Majora*, while his image of Mohammed showed him as a slightly monstrous person. He also included in his work the popular account of the prophet's death, in which Mohammed collapsed when drunk and was consumed by a hungry pig. Some depictions of the Muslim enemy were more favourable. Ambroise was complimentary about the military skills of the Saracens, and both he and Richard of Devises appreciated the good qualities about Safadin, Saladin's brother.¹²⁹

Muslim learning had its own impact on English learning. Walcher of Malvern (d.1135), the Lotharingian prior of Malvern, used Arabic texts for his astrological works, while Adelard of Bath (c.1080–c.1152), who travelled through Asia Minor, Greece and Spain, translated works on astrology, mathematics, astronomy and philosophy from Arabic into Latin.¹³⁰ According to Walter Map, Henry II could understand the language of the Jordan; one of his childhood teachers, Adelard of Bath, had learned Arabic, and it is conceivable that he taught it to Henry.¹³¹ Roger Bacon took a philosophical interest in Islam, though he was also informed on the Holy Land and beyond through his interest in the work of William of Rubruck, a Flemish Franciscan missionary who had travelled to the Crusader States and the Mongol Empire in the 1250s.¹³² In the previous century Petrus Alfonsi (fl. 1106–26), a Spanish Jew who converted to Christianity and became physician to Henry I of England, promoted Arabic science

in the West.¹³³ Petrus brought his knowledge from his education in Islamic-controlled Spain. The English scholar Robert Ketton translated the Koran into Latin in 1143, though he was working in Spain at the time. It does not appear to have been popular at first, as most of the eighteen surviving copies of the work come from later than the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.¹³⁴ Although the roots of this interest lie in Spain, the works of Petrus Alfonsi and Robert Ketton raise broader questions about wider networks of patronage and communication and about how far this was a result of crusade activity.

Conclusion

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the crusade movement had a discernible impact on domestic life in Britain and Ireland. The need for funding and the subsequent mortgaging and selling of estates led to the acquisition of properties and rights by landholders and monastic institutions, sometimes embroiling them in legal disputes that rumbled on for years. Others benefited from the generosity of people who made gifts before or after their own crusades, giving relics to some of the houses of Britain, which proved a lucrative source of income. Those who did not buy lands from prospective crusaders were financially affected by general taxation and, in the case of the Jews, by harsher levies and a restriction on their moneylending activities. Jews also suffered as part of the peak in anti-Semitism that accompanied the Third Crusade, a pattern that reflected that of mainland Europe but which was also the result of simmering resentment over money and perceived injustices which had been building throughout the eleventh century. Finally, the crusades also occupied many of the writers of medieval Britain and Ireland. For the most part, interest in the crusades was shown in works produced in England and Wales, while Scotland and Ireland did not embrace the literature associated with crusading with the same enthusiasm. In addition to references to crusade activities, the Muslim enemy was also a theme of English works, though they were not referred to elsewhere in Britain and Ireland, perhaps because Muslims never appeared in these areas in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Chapter 6: The Military Orders

One part of the crusading movement that had a direct impact on Britain and Ireland was the military orders, religious orders of fighting monks whose central aim was to defend the Holy Land. The two major orders were the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, more commonly called the Hospitallers, and the Knights Templar. The Hospitallers predated the First Crusade, forming a monastic order before the 1090s to assist pilgrims to the Holy Land. Their origins lay in a grant of some land in Jerusalem in c.1070 to merchants from the Italian city of Amalfi; the merchants had requested the land in order to build a house where their visiting compatriots could stay.¹ By 1113 some of its members had separated themselves under their leader, Gerard, and this group developed from caring for sick pilgrims to offering armed assistance. At the same time Pope Paschal II (1099–1118) formally recognised the order. They began to use mercenaries to protect pilgrims in the 1130s and had become a militarised order by the 1160s. The order was divided into knights, sergeants and chaplains, and there was a strict hierarchy and obedience to the Grand Master.²

The Knights Templar, on the other hand, had clearer origins. They were probably made up of a group of knights who stayed in the Holy Land in order to serve Christianity. They were based at Solomon's Temple next to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, from which they took their name. According to William of Tyre (d.c.1184), the order was established in 1118 and officially endorsed by the pope in 1120.³ In 1129 the Templars received their own Rule at the Council of Troyes. They lived a monastic lifestyle of poverty, chastity and simple living and, as members of other monastic orders did, lived divorced

from the world. They also adopted monastic dress, in this case a white habit.

As with other monastic orders, the Hospitallers and Templars attracted patronage across medieval Europe. They received lands, rights and other properties that gave them an income to provide military aid for the East. These estates were structured in a hierarchy. The European lands of the Templars were divided into provinces, while the Hospitaller division was called a Langue. There was a commander in charge of each, and every house had its own official. Houses of both orders were termed commanderies (the name of preceptory for a Templar house is misleading), and they would oversee small estates and other gifts granted to them. As the number of grants increased, the military orders became increasingly wealthy and powerful, and were linked with the rulers of many European countries. They fulfilled administrative roles on their own estates, as well as nationally and internationally for Christian rulers, and offered hospitality to pilgrims in the Holy Land as well as the West. The Templars were also heavily involved in financial services, acting as bankers and financiers for the crusades and several monarchs, as well as serving as custodians of valuables.

In addition to the Hospitallers and Templars, there were other smaller military orders that had properties in the West. Some of these were specific to the Iberian Peninsula (such as the Order of St James) or north-east Europe (such as the Order of Dobrin), but others were more universal and, as a result, held property in Britain and Ireland. These included the Leper Knights and the Order of St Thomas of Acre. Other non-militarised orders also had crusade links, such as the Tironian monks of Dunbar in Scotland, who worked to redeem captive crusaders.⁴

The Hospitallers

The Hospitallers received their first gift of a mill at Passenham (Northamptonshire) before 1135 from Letitia, a member of the Ferrières family. Their most important grant, however, came in c.1144, when Jordan, son of Ralph Bricett, gave them fourteen acres of land at Clerkenwell in London, property that became the main site for the Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland. Jordan's family also established a house of Augustinian canonesses at Clerkenwell who,

like the Hospitallers, followed the Rule of St Augustine and had a role administering to the sick. The timing of the grant suggests that he may have been motivated by the fall of Edessa in December of that year. After the establishment of this main house, the foundation of houses in the English counties continued. Battisford (Suffolk), the manor of Miserden (Gloucestershire), Dinmore (Shropshire) and Old Dalby were all founded at this time. So too was Chippenham (Cambridgeshire), the third largest house after Clerkenwell and Buckland, and the one which functioned as the infirmary for the Hospitallers in England.⁵ Essex had the greatest number of properties, three-quarters of which were arable land. In the last two decades of the twelfth century, in England as a whole, the number of Hospitaller foundations increased by 54 per cent.⁶

In the following century there were some new foundations during the reign of King John, such as those at Newland and Beverley in Yorkshire, and Ansty in Wiltshire. The Hospitallers also received smaller properties, such as the hospital at Skirkbeck (Lincolnshire) in c.1230, which by 1338 cared for twenty poor people and fed another forty on a daily basis. By the end of the century they had accumulated just under fifty houses as well several manors, small estates (known as *camera*) and lands.⁷ The flourishing of gifts to the order in the second half of the twelfth century, followed by a steady decline in the number of grants in the thirteenth, mirrored those made to other orders in Britain and Ireland.

The Hospitallers were given their first property in Scotland at the same time as they appeared in England. This was due to the interest in the order shown by David I (1124-53), who invited the order to Scotland in c.1132. He gave them land at Torphichen (Linlithgoshire), where they built their headquarters. They also held property in Aberdeen, and Malcolm IV granted them a croft in every Scottish burgh.⁸ Sometime before 1192 Roland of Galloway granted the order land in Artun and Hirtun.⁹ Grants appear to have been small and few in number, such as the six acres in West Kinnear given by Simon of Kinnear (c.1250) and the gifts from Constantine of Lochore, which were small but useful for the order:

Constantine of Lochore, son of Robert 'de Burguinn' (of Bourguignon), has granted to the Hospital of Jerusalem (the Knights Hospitallers), two oxgangs in the territory of Lochore (Fife), namely over the mill, and common pasture for 60 cows and

100 sheep and 20 goats, 40 [?] and three horses with the offspring of these for two years, and fuel and timber from his wood, for the upkeep of their houses.¹⁰

So too was the small but generous annual gift of a pound of cumin from Geoffrey, the cook of Whitton. Cumin was commonly used in cooking, but it also had medicinal properties, assisting with the treatment of cholera, liver and kidney problems and more general aches and pains. Record of a grant of cumin to the Burton Lazars also survives.¹¹ Donald, son of Duncan, earl of Mar, also gave the order land in West Dronley. Unlike the military orders in England, Ireland and Wales, the Scottish properties suffered from the depredations of domestic warfare. By 1338 the lands of the Hospitallers (which included the former lands of the Templars by this time) were described as destroyed and burned as a result of the ongoing warfare between the English king and the Scots.¹² For this reason, the house at Torphichen does not appear on the 1338 survey of estates. Some property of the Order of St Lazarus in Northumberland also suffered because of the Anglo-Scottish wars.¹³

The Hospitallers arrived in Wales only a decade or so after they first appeared in England. The earliest and most important foundation was at Slebech in Pembrokeshire, founded between c.1148 and c.1176 by the son or grandson of Wizo, a Fleming settled in the area by Henry I.¹⁴ Slebech took responsibility for the lands already granted to the order in south Wales and many of the ones made over the following decades, though Dinmore in Herefordshire administered lands in the easternmost parts of Wales. Most of these lands lay in the largely Flemish- and Anglo-Norman-controlled lands of Pembrokeshire, such as the gift at Rudpac (c.1115–48), though there were substantial grants in Cardiganshire and some smaller gifts in Carmarthenshire and Gower. The largest were at Llansantffriad and Ystradmeurig in mid-Wales, where Earl Roger de Clare gave the order between 500 and 600 acres of land in 1158. Gifts were still being made in the thirteenth century, but on a smaller scale than before.¹⁵ From the 1140s onwards native Welshmen showed in interest in making grants to Slebech and accounted for a dozen gifts in total.¹⁶ None of these Welsh donors were crusaders.

Wales also had a purely Welsh house at Ysbyty Ifan in Denbighshire, founded by Ifan ap Rhys of Trebys c.1190–1210.¹⁷ The original grant was later augmented by the gift of the manor and church

at Llanwddyn and Penmacho chapel.¹⁸ All other gifts made to the Hospitallers at Ysbyty Ifan were small, consisting of two manors, five churches, a mill and various lands. Although the names of all donors, bar Ifan ap Rhys, are omitted, the geographical location of the contributions strongly suggests that they all came from Welsh benefactors, as throughout the twelfth century all of these lands were subject to the rule of the princes of Gwynedd and Powys Wenwynwyn. At the end of the thirteenth century, after Edward I had conquered Wales, the declining house came under the authority of Halston in Shropshire, which already held gifts from some Welsh benefactors, thus doubling Halston's estates.¹⁹ The house may have been moved to English jurisdiction as a way of securing some English control in Denbighshire.

What is interesting about the Hospitallers in Wales is that their introduction was the result of Flemish interest in the order, and their expansion into north Wales was driven by native Welsh interest. This was in contrast to the order in Ireland, which owed its arrival and growth to the conquest of 1169 by the Anglo-Normans under Strongbow. It is possible that the flurry of grants to the Hospitallers, as well as to the Templars, was a 'thank-offering' for military success.²⁰ In 1174 Richard de Clare (Strongbow) granted the Hospitallers land at Kilmainham to the west of Dublin on the site of the former priory of St Maignenn; Hugh de Tyrell subsequently gave the knights land on the opposite bank of the river.²¹ A priory had already been built for the order in Wexford, but this was taken under the control of Kilmainham after the latter became the Priory of the Order in Ireland.²² Unlike the Scottish house of Torphichen, Kilmainham does not appear to have been dependent on the English commandery at Clerkenwell. Hugh de Tyrell subsequently gave the knights land on the opposite bank of the River Liffey.²³

By 1230 the Hospitallers had thirteen houses and some lesser properties in Ireland under the leadership of the house at Kilmainham, with another four by the end of the century, including Killybegs, Kilteel and Tully in County Kildare; and Ballyhack and Killure in the area south-east of Wexford.²⁴ Every province bar Connaught had a house, and the Hospitallers received substantially more than the Templars in Ireland. One grant was Kilmainhambeg, founded by Walter de Lacy, Lord of Meath, in the 1190s. By the end of the following century the order had ten houses in Ireland with several small properties under their control.²⁵

The Templars

The Templars arrived in England in 1128 when Hugh de Payens, Master of the Temple, visited England in order to gain support for the Holy Land. The order soon began to attract grants and was established in Holborn, London, sometime between 1135 and 1144. Here they built a house and a round church in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In c.1136 Matilda, wife of King Stephen, granted the manor of Cressing in Essex to the Templars, followed by the gift of Witham in Essex and Cowley in Oxfordshire. Matilda also gave the order a manor and half a hundred of Witham between 1138 and 1148, together with land in Uphall in Great Tey. In 1142 Stephen also gave the order specific rights on their manor at Dinsley. Stephen and Matilda were great patrons of monastic orders, and their gifts to the Templars fit in with this, but their support of the Templars was also a reflection of their family links to the crusades. Stephen's father, Stephen of Blois, took part in the First Crusade, while Matilda's father, Eustace, was a crusader, and her uncles were Godfrey and Baldwin were the first rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was their favouritism of the Templars that probably accounts for the appearance of Osto, a Knight Templar, as a witness to the Westminster charter.²⁶

Royal patronage continued under Stephen's successor, Henry II. He gave them the site for a mill on the River Fleet, while in 1161 they sold their base at Holborn and moved to a new location (New Temple) on the west bank of the river, where they built a new headquarters with accompanying round church. Henry also gave the Templars 2,000 acres of land at Garway (Herefordshire), forty acres at Motewood (Shropshire), ten acres at Merton (Oxfordshire), seven acres at Brandendene (Northamptonshire), 100 acres at Sharnbrooke (Bedfordshire) and seven acres at Ogerstan (Huntingdonshire).²⁷ The grant in Garway may have been particularly large because the king intended the order to act as a buffer on the Welsh March and to keep a watchful eye on a potentially troublesome western neighbour. Helen Nicholson argues that the grant was so generous because the presence of the Templars 'as faithful royal servants, would remind the local lords of royal authority'.²⁸ Garway's original round church was replaced by a semi-fortified tower in the thirteenth century, suggesting some sort of defensive requirement. Each subsequent king either granted concessions or confirmed earlier charters so that the Templars became exempt from local and national taxes, scutage, and

tolls, as well as other privileges concerning the lands of their tenants and the power to hold their own courts, though they were not always successful in making sure that these rights were respected. Large estates in Yorkshire (where they had ten houses) and Lincolnshire brought them wealth from the wool trade. It is no surprise that the wealthiest house of the order, Willoughton in Lincolnshire, brought the order an income of £284 a year.²⁹

The Templars also attracted gifts from those lower down in the social hierarchy. John Marshal gave the Templars a hide of land at Rockey (Wilts.) in c.1155–56, while his son William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, gave them the manor of Upleadon in 1219. William's support extended to requesting burial at the Temple Church in London.³⁰ Some properties had specific roles to fulfil. They had a hospital for sick members of the order at Eagle (Lincs.), similar to the Hospitaller hospice at Skirkbeck, as well as one at Denney (Cambridgeshire), while Faxfleet (Yorkshire) was reputedly one of the main recruitment centres for the order. By 1300 the Templars had property all over England, though no houses in Cumberland and Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Dorset, Devon, Hampshire, Norfolk, Durham, Berkshire, Buckingham, Worcestershire and Huntingdonshire. Overall there were 70 houses by the end of the thirteenth century, five of which were in Yorkshire, five in Lincolnshire.³¹

In addition to the grants of lands, donors also supported the Templars (as well as other orders) through smaller financial gifts. Henry II granted the Templars one silver mark a year from each county in England and gave them fifty marks a year to keep a knight in the Holy Land.³² They also received legal privileges, which benefited them and their tenants but also brought them into conflict with other religious orders. Walter Map criticised the military orders because they were exempt from the bishops' authority.

King David I (1124–53) made the first grant to the Templars in Scotland. When Hugh de Payens, Master of the Temple, visited Scotland in 1128, he convinced the king of the merits of the Templars, whom the Scottish monarch then invited to settle in his kingdom.³³ He gave them land at Balantrodoch (Midlothian), where a commandery was established, and they appear to have farmed the area to earn an income from crops. Support for the Templars in Scotland predominantly came from the royal house and the Anglo-Normans who settled there in the lowland areas. The order also built

a commandery in the north of Scotland at Maryculter by Walter Byset, who was close to the royal court, between c.1221–36, which became the other major house in Scotland. Smaller gifts came in Aberdeen, a toft in Glasgow, and the churches of Aboyne, Inchinnan and Tullich.³⁴ They also had a tenement in each of the Scottish burghs, a gift of Alexander II. Many of the historical works list other properties held by the order, but evidence is lacking.³⁵ Even taking these into account, the gifts to the order were comparatively small, and none of the estates appear to have been as profitable as those in England.

The Knights Templar also received grants in Ireland and Wales, although they were undoubtedly more successful in finding patronage in Ireland. Here Henry II was the initial benefactor of record. By c.1180 (although the Templars were in Ireland before this time) Henry had granted the Templars lands at Clontarf, a manor at Crook and the church and manor of St Barry (Kilbarry) in Ireland.³⁶ He may have done this in order to fulfil his promise to provide 200 Templars knights to support the Holy Land as penance for his role in Thomas Becket's murder. Clontarf became the Templar's main house, augmented by further gifts from the Cambro-Normans settlers. At Ballyman, they received a castle and land; a gift at Kilcork; a commandery and church at Rincrew; manors at Rathbride and Rathronan; and smaller gifts of woods, lands and church revenues throughout Ireland. The land of Templeton in County Carlow was granted to the Templars by the Countess of Gloucester 'to David de Pembroke', and forty acres and the advowson of Carlingford Church came from Matilda de Lacy of the Herefordshire Lacys, a family with close links to the crusades and the military orders.³⁷

It is hardly surprising that a number of endowments came from those who had originally settled in Wales, as Anglo-Welsh immigration continued in the years following the conquest and the new estates won from the Irish could be redistributed to the Templars. The only area where it seems they did not receive a gift was Connaught.³⁸ Although almost all of the recorded gifts came from the conquerors, a grant at Kilcloggan (County Wexford) was made by an Irishman, probably Connor O'More, before 1200.³⁹ In Ireland the Templars built a very heavily fortified manor house at Ballyman and a castle at Newcastle. This may have been for protection from a hostile local population, as it is worth noting that in Ireland (though not in Wales) the military orders were often called upon to provide military service to the crown.⁴⁰ Watt suggested that both orders were 'primary an instrument

for policing the country', and while they did not explicitly fulfil this role, the military orders in Ireland did take a more active part in military matters than they did elsewhere in Britain and Ireland.⁴¹ In 1274, for example, the prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland was taken hostage while fighting the Irish at the battle of Glenmalure.⁴²

By 1338 the Hospitallers had over forty commanderies in Britain and another seventeen in Ireland. The wealthiest was the headquarters at Clerkenwell (worth £400 per annum), followed by Slebech (£307 0s. 22d.) and Willoughton (£284 3s. 5d.).⁴³ The Templars also had lands in most English counties, though nothing at all is recorded for Cheshire. The county is unique in this respect, as even Durham and Lancashire collected small sums of money in rent for the order. The lack of support may have been because the Templars were associated with royal power, and thus the nature of the county – as independent of the crown – was reflected here. Landholders in Cheshire who sought to support the military orders instead chose to exercise their patronage in different parts of England. John, constable of Chester (d.1190) granted them the church of Marnam in Nottinghamshire, while Ranulf II, earl of Chester (d.1153), established a Templar house at Maltby in Lincolnshire.⁴⁴ The Templar province of England (which included Wales) had control over the properties in Scotland and Ireland, and commanders from all houses were supposed to attend annual provincial chapters.

Patterns of grants to the military orders in Britain and Ireland varied over time and from place to place, but some patterns can be observed. In England the Templars received more grants in the 1200s and 1220s (although they were not the largest gifts); though in Yorkshire the spike came in the 1180s and 1190s, leading Janet Burton to speculate that it was 'suggestive of some correlation with the crusades'.⁴⁵ Certainly the 1180s and early 1190s was a time of crusade enthusiasm in England. Henry II, grandson of one king of Jerusalem and nephew of another, was planning a crusade of his own, while the Patriarch of Jerusalem visited England in 1185 to drum up support. The launch of the Third Crusade in England led to the involvement of many men from the country, and particularly from Yorkshire, which may have inspired more support for the military orders.

Royal patronage may also have prompted other landholders to donate to the military orders, as they had in the case of other monastic institutions. It was certainly royal interest in the Templars

and Hospitallers in Scotland that led to support for them there. In England as a whole the 1220s coincided with the enthusiasm in England demonstrated for the Fifth Crusade. Those with links made some of the grants to the Templars and Hospitallers for the crusades. In other cases, women supported houses for sisters under the Hospitaller rule. Maud, countess of Clare, and Loretta, countess of Leicester, made gifts for the benefit of the sisters at Buckland.⁴⁶ The house also attracted some important noblewomen, such as Agnes, daughter of William earl of Arundel, himself from a crusading family, who was a member there in 1232.⁴⁷

The number of grants made to the military orders in Wales and the Welsh March peaked in the 1150s and in the 1180s. The majority were made to the Hospitallers, though the substantial gift of Garway to the Templars was made at this time. Most gifts were made by Anglo-Norman settlers, though this is not surprising, as this was true of much monastic benefaction in this period. The same was true for Ireland.⁴⁸ Here the military orders did not gain a foothold after the conquest of 1169. Most datable gifts to the Templars in Ireland were made in the last two decades of the twelfth century, while for the Hospitallers a 50-year period up to 1212 saw most of the grants being made. The rough dating of the grants in both Wales and Ireland is perhaps not surprising, as the period from 1150 to 1180 in Wales and 1170 to 1210 in Ireland were ones in which the Anglo-Normans had made successful campaigns into native territory and thus had new lands which could be settled on the military orders. Throughout all of Britain and Ireland, the number of grants declined as lands became settled and the amount of land available for redistribution fell. Disillusionment with continual failures in the crusade movement hardly inspired the faithful to contribute more than they already had, and so grants in the thirteenth century tended to be limited to small parcels of land or the confirmation of existing lands and rights.⁴⁹

Order of St Thomas of Acre

Another military order to have holdings in Britain and Ireland was the Order of St Thomas the Martyr of Acre. There is some debate over the foundation of the order, but William, chaplain to the dean of St Paul's, probably established it at Acre in 1191.⁵⁰ Initially a charitable order, it was militarised by Peter des Roches, bishop of

Winchester, at the time of the Fifth Crusade; he did this by removing the canons from the order and ordering it to adopt the rule of the Teutonic Knights.⁵¹ In England the order was based at Cheapside in London, where Thomas FitzTheobald of Helles, brother-in-law of Archbishop Thomas Becket, gave them land. They held two hospitals in Berkhamstead granted by the earl of Essex, the manor of Coulsdon in Surrey, and received small gifts in London.⁵² Edward I showed interest in the order, supporting the building of their new church at Acre and giving them a generous endowment.⁵³ It was a small order that had a short history in England. The Templars tried to take control of the Order of St Thomas, but they appealed to Edward I for help; he appointed a warden to take charge of the house, essentially ending the order's independence.

In Ireland there were two houses given to the order of St Thomas of Acre, the main being at Kilkenny.⁵⁴ The two Irish grants became dependencies of the house in London during the first half of Henry III's reign. At Carrick-on-Suir, William de Cantelo founded a hospital dedicated to John the Evangelist before 1236, but by the time the grant was confirmed in c.1250 the house belonged to the Knights of St Thomas. The same transfer of lands occurred at Kilkenny, where a gift originally made by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, before 1219 was confirmed to the Order of St Thomas between 1234 and 1241 on the understanding that the order would care for the sick.⁵⁵ The transfer of the grants suggests that the popularity of the Order rose during the reign of Henry III, so that the lands were transferred, though why this should be the case is not clear. There were no recorded properties for the order in either Scotland or Wales, though Marsha Schuchard believed that Alan the Steward gave the order property in Ayrshire after the Third Crusade.⁵⁶

Leper Knights

A small and lesser-known order which was borne of the crusading movement was the Order of St Lazarus, a military order of knights who suffered from leprosy and who were recruited to address the shortage of combatants in the Holy Land. Knights from the order are less well documented than the Templars and Hospitallers, but it was probably established outside the north-west walls of Jerusalem in the 1130s. The original community comprised both leprous and healthy

brothers, who slept and ate separately and naturally had a caring role, ministering to the sick. It cared for pilgrims coming to Jerusalem, particularly those who suffered from leprosy, and may have been able to cater for as many as 1,000 people.

Although many of the brothers of the order were ill, it did fulfil a military role from the twelfth century onwards, though the Leper Knights were not very successful. They were defeated at the Battle of La Forbie (1244) and were so ill-prepared for warfare that the papacy intervened in the hope that better organisation might help. They were never a particularly wealthy order and, in the wake of the fall of Acre in 1291 and hindered by conflict within the order, the Leper knights gave up their military vocation.

Like the other orders, they had houses in the West that were supposed to send annual contributions to the hospital at Acre to cover expenses. They received their first grant in England in Norfolk from the earl of Arundel before *c.*1146.⁵⁷ This was followed by a grant from his cousin, Roger de Mowbray, at Burton near Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire that became the Leper's main house in England.⁵⁸ Many of the other donors were either members of the Mowbray family or related to them by marriage, such as the Ferrers, Gants, Lacys and St Lizes, though Henry II gave them forty marks a year in 1176.⁵⁹ Some of these families also supported the Templars and Hospitallers. However, the order also attracted several grants from the knightly class and the level of society just below them. In Scotland David I gave them the church of St Giles in Edinburgh, while in London Henry II made a grant of alms, and Edward I granted the order the Leper hospital of St Giles, Holborn.⁶⁰ They also held some property in Spitalton and Linlithgow. There were no recorded gifts to the order in Ireland or Wales, though both had leper hospitals.⁶¹ They remained a small and relatively impoverished order, and by 1291 held estates worth just over £64, most of which were based in Leicestershire around the principal preceptory of Burton Lazars.⁶²

Reasons for Support

Support for the military orders might have had several motives, many of which were the same as the motivations behind the patronage of non-militarised orders, such as the Benedictines and Cistercians. Piety was the largest factor, as donors gave gifts to the order as part of

a wider pattern of benefaction. Roger de Mowbray founded Byland Abbey (Savigniac, later Cistercian) and the Augustinian priory of Newburgh and was a supporter of Fountains Abbey (Cistercian). Moreover, he took part in the Second Crusade and went to the Holy Land again in 1186. He was a keen crusader, and part of his enthusiasm for the Holy Land appears to have manifested itself in his foundation of the Templar house of Temple Balsall (Warwickshire) and his gift of Burton (Leics.) to the Leper Knights. He also made a significant grant of materials from forests he owned in Yorkshire so that three Templar houses could be built.⁶³ The Lord Rhys's gift to the Hospitallers was part of a wider pattern of monastic patronage that reflected his piety and political power in Wales.⁶⁴ Houses might also fulfil religious roles for the local community in frontier areas, such as the Welsh foundation of Ysbyty Ifan, which administered the sacrament and gave divine service to the clansmen of Marchwithian, a role that would usually be carried out by secular churchmen.⁶⁵

Reflecting wider trends in monasticism and monastic benefaction from the twelfth century onwards, gifts were also motivated by the desire to settle new lands. Several religious orders were given grants of lands in areas which needed to be drained or cleared of woodland before they could be cultivated, and the military orders were no exception. They were also given lands in areas that were potentially volatile as a way of securing them, such as at Garway in Herefordshire and Llansantffraid in mid-Wales. This could be a reflection of the ambitious nature of the 'frontier' regions in Britain and Ireland, where lordships such as the Lacys and Mowbrays sought to secure newly acquired areas. This was a common feature of monastic foundation as a whole, and Yorkshire in particular saw the foundation of several large monasteries in the twelfth century as uncultivated lands were secured and cleared.

Perhaps unique to the military orders was the benefaction associated with the support of the crusading movement. William Marshal, earl of Pembroke (c.1146–1219), went on crusade in 1183 and on his deathbed made the Templars a gift of his manor at Upleadon. He also asked to be buried in the Temple Church in London, 'for that was my vow'.⁶⁶ Gilbert de Lacy of Herefordshire joined the Knights Templar in the late 1150s; before doing so, he granted the order lands at Guiting in Gloucestershire and at Winchcombe.⁶⁷ Those who made vows to join the crusade but did not go might also have supported the military orders, something that may have been behind Rhys ap

Gruffydd's small gift to the Hospitallers, as he took the Cross but was dissuaded from leaving on crusade by his wife. David Marcombe speculated that the same links to the crusade motivated gifts to the Leper Knights, who were involved in '*passive* crusading' by supporting the military orders.⁶⁸

Family tradition played a role in donations, as it did for all orders. Wizo the Fleming's sons and grandsons supported the Hospitallers in Pembrokeshire, and the wife of the Templar Gilbert de Lacy granted part of her dower to the Hospitallers.⁶⁹ Their son gave twelve burgages and two virgates to the military orders in Ludlow.⁷⁰ Crusading tradition within a family group might also prompt generosity, as it did with the Lacy and Mowbray families, and it was clearly familial interest that drove most of the support for the Leper Knights in England. This order also attracted a large percentage of its patrons from the local area; the house of Burton Lazars, for example, received 92 per cent of its grants from a radius of ten miles.⁷¹

Membership

Although the way that the majority of people in Britain and Ireland interacted with the military orders was through benefactions, patronage and hospitality, some chose to join the military orders as monks, sergeants and servants. Only a few of these members saw service in the Holy Land – such as Gilbert de Lacy – as the majority of the Hospitallers and Templars lived in Western Europe. Despite the number of commanderies, however, the number of members in Britain and Ireland was not particularly high. Each Hospitaller commandery, for example, might have only two or three brothers, who might be joined by non-members such as servants and visitors. When the preceptor of Temple Balsall (Warwickshire) was assessed in 1338, it had one knight and two sergeants in residence.⁷²

Men, and to a lesser extent women, joined the orders for a number of reasons, chief among them piety and a desire to serve the Holy Land. Others did so as a form of penance. In 1226 John Herlisun of London became a Hospitaller after the murder of Lambert de Legis.⁷³ In some places membership in the orders might be deterred by ethnicity or because the orders were associated with foreign domination. Membership in the Templars in Ireland was limited, no doubt because in their early years the native Irish were forbidden

to join.⁷⁴ Some of the 'Irish' Templars were therefore recruited in England, though some were born to settlers in Ireland and others, such as Brother Thomas of Toulouse, came from much further afield. Many were linked to the Cambro-Norman invaders who came over with Strongbow. From 1202 to 1210 the prior of the order in Ireland was Maurice de Prendergast, a name which suggests he hailed from the area next to Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire.⁷⁵ The Templars were also predominantly composed of Anglo-Normans: John Romain may be the only Irish knight, and the tentatively identified Martin O'Boland, Gill O'Mullreany and Arnulf O'Kynaghy the only Irish brothers.⁷⁶ They did, however, have a Welsh Master, Roger de Waleis, who was appointed by Henry III in 1236.⁷⁷

In Wales there were no known members, perhaps because the Templars were associated with English royal power.⁷⁸ The Hospitallers, however, fared better, as a Welshman, master Ednyfed, was the head of Ysbyty Ifan in the late thirteenth century.⁷⁹ Not everyone who joined the military orders did so because they intended to fight for the Holy Land. It was not uncommon for elderly knights to enter houses of the military orders in their final years as corrodians so that they would receive the care, attention and prayers of a religious community. In this respect, the military orders were like other houses that accepted corrodians. Some of the corrodians might also be retired servants. The majority of the Templars' corrodians were in Lincolnshire, which was probably a reflection of the siting of their own Hospital there.⁸⁰

Women and the Military Orders

Although it was primarily a military order, the Hospitallers also had female members across Europe and the Holy Land. They were either full members in a female community, a group of women who functioned within a male house, or individual women who might form part of a male house. In England there were two Hospitaller houses for women, one at Buckland in Somerset and the other at Aconbury in Herefordshire. The commandery at Buckland was founded by Henry II in c.1180 in a previously Augustinian site as a way to remove women from the male commanderies owned by the order. He may have done this as part of his penance over Thomas Becket's murder or to address the growing concern, prevalent at the time, about women in male houses.⁸¹ As at Clerkenwell, there was a

link here between the Augustinian canonesses and the Hospitallers, perhaps because of the similarity of their Rule.

Buckland was populated with eight women from six commanderies in England, such as Little Carbrooke in Norfolk; one of these women, Fina, became the first prioress of Buckland. When Henry II confirmed his donation, he emphasised that the existence of the female house meant that no women should be maintained in other Hospitaller houses in England.⁸² This stipulation was clearly not adhered to, as there were Hospitaller women at a male house in Hampton (Middlesex) in 1227.⁸³ By 1338 the community at Buckland had increased in number to around fifty, and they had been placed under the care of a community of brothers at Buckland.⁸⁴ The house became overstretched, the income and possessions of the house proving too meagre to support them.⁸⁵ Female membership of the order was clearly popular, as at the start of the fourteenth century women made up 30 percent of the order's membership in England and Wales.⁸⁶

Margaret de Lacy (née Braose) founded a second house for women at Aconbury. The house was actually a convent of Augustinian canonesses whom Margaret chose to place under the control of the Hospitallers. Helen Nicholson attributes this choice to the traditions of her marital family, to a desire to support the Fifth Crusade, which was starting at this time, and to a request from the Hospitallers to give it to them.⁸⁷ Margaret regretted her decision to associate her foundation with the Hospitallers and engaged in a long dispute to separate the two.⁸⁸ Her concern may have stemmed from the location of the house near the Welsh border, as she may have believed that the Hospitallers would have become involved in military action.

Unlike the Hospitallers, the Templars did not have any houses for sisters of their order. This did not mean that women did not try to join the order. In the twelfth century Joan Chalfield, the elderly wife of a knight, requested permission to become a member of the Templars at Saddlescombe (Sussex).⁸⁹ It is not clear if she was successful in her application, but it is unlikely that women were attracted to the Templars in any number. In the late 1280s the Order of St Lazarus began to take female members, but these sisters do not appear in England until the fourteenth century.⁹⁰

As the thirteenth century progressed, the level of criticism aimed at the military orders increased. For some years resentment had been building towards them as they demanded money from their tenants

to aid the Holy Land but failed to defend the remaining Christian lands there. The Templars were not the only order to earn censure – the Teutonic Knights in Livonia were criticised by churchmen there – but they could not defend themselves by claiming that they were still fulfilling their purpose.⁹¹ Attempts at reforming all military orders had come to nothing, and critics of the order were looking for a reason for their failure. The cause ‘could only be God’s displeasure, provoked by contumacious sin’.⁹²

In December 1307, two months after his future father-in-law, Philip IV, did the same for France, Edward II issued an order for the arrest of the Templars in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. They were accused of committing sins against their religion, such as denying Christ, committing lewd acts and worshipping idols. Their properties were confiscated by Edward II, who showed more concern with their physical possessions than their spiritual crimes.⁹³ He gave some properties to the Hospitallers, others to his friends in return for their support, as he wished to bring his exiled favourite, Piers Gaveston, home, and the rest he sold in order to finance his ongoing war in Scotland.⁹⁴ The Templars themselves were interrogated, but it was done without the fierce conviction of the trials in France, and, for the most part, the Templars escaped unscathed.⁹⁵ Surviving members of the order were instructed to join other religious communities, and most did so with little trouble.⁹⁶

The Military Orders in British and Irish Society and Politics

Although their primary role was to provide fighting personnel for the Holy Land, the status and wealth of the military orders in Britain and Ireland, as elsewhere in Europe, meant that they also played a role in domestic politics. They were not unique in this respect, as many monks and friars acted as royal advisors, emissaries and royal representatives, but the military orders were among the most prominent and influential of all and undertook roles (particularly financial ones) that were not carried out by their non-militarised counterparts.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries members of the military orders served the king of England in a number of capacities. Before 1154 they appear sporadically in royal documents, such as the Templar who witnessed King Stephen’s agreement that Henry II would succeed him. The Templars were generally favoured over the Hospitallers by

Henry II, who often turned to them for advice and often gave gifts to those who joined the order, though he asked a member of each order to assist with the collection of the Saladin Tithe.⁹⁷ The military orders were not necessarily the most trustworthy agents, as Brother Gilbert of Ogerstan stole some of the collection and disappeared into a Templar prison.⁹⁸ Under Henry III their popularity as royal servants reached its peak – so much so that in 1231 Henry III expressed a wish to be buried in the New Temple in London.⁹⁹

The military orders played roles as messengers and ambassadors for the English crown, though these were roles largely left to the Templars. They also acted as intermediaries. When England was under interdict, the papal legate Pandulph came to negotiate with King John, and two Templars acted as intermediaries.¹⁰⁰ In 1225 the Hospitaller Prior Robert Dynham acted as an ambassador in the marriage negotiation between Henry III and the duke of Austria's daughter, while in 1244 Prior Thierry of Nussa went to Scotland to hear what the Scots king was willing to pay to Henry III. In 1234, when Richard Marshal led a rebellion in Ireland, they tried to negotiate between Richard and the royal officials.¹⁰¹ Members of the Hospitallers and Templars acted as messengers to Louis IX of France from 1261 to 1265, as well as acting as messengers between Henry III and Simon de Montfort, though this latter role appears to have earned them the king's displeasure, as the Hospitallers were not used again as royal ambassadors until the following century.¹⁰²

Several members of the military orders also worked for the king as advisors, a role that they fulfilled throughout Europe from the pope downwards. King John took advice from the Templar brother Aimary of St Maur, while the knights of St Thomas Acre sent Edward I letters of advice.¹⁰³ According to the Cistercian Aelred of Rievaulx, David I of Scotland was so impressed with the Knights Templar that he filled his court with advisors from that order. Aelred tells us that the Scottish king

Keeping with him the excellent brothers of the celebrated Knights of the Temple at Jerusalem, ... made them guardians of his way of life by day and by night.¹⁰⁴

The prior of the Hospitallers was dispatched to Wales during the Welsh wars of Edward I to report on affairs in Wales and the state of royal fortifications in the late 1280s.¹⁰⁵ With the exception of Scotland, the

military orders only advised the English king, although this involved them in relations between England and her neighbours.

One of the chief roles the Templars fulfilled in the West was to provide a financial service. They did not run banks but would store money in strongboxes; collect tallages and feudal dues; arrange the payment of pensions, gifts and marriage portions; offer loans and credit; mortgage property for those who needed ready money; and send money across Europe. The Temple in London essentially acted as the royal treasury, where the exchequer stored its wealth. The Templars were entrusted with the money Henry II paid as penance for the murder of Thomas Becket, held a vast amount of money for Walter de Burgh, and stored the jewels of Henry III's wife, Queen Eleanor.¹⁰⁶ It was also in the Temple that King John stored the crown jewels for safe keeping, and both kings and nobles used it to store such valuable commodities as wine, wool and legal documents. Under Henry III money and the Great Seal of England were sometimes kept at the Temple. The money stored there was theoretically safe, though in 1263 the Lord Edward gained entry to the New Temple's treasury and broke into the money chests of other people in order to access their wealth. Under the pretence of checking on his mother's jewels, Edward entered the treasury, where he and his men 'broke open the chests of certain persons there with iron hammers which they had brought with them, took much money to the value of £1000 pounds, and carried it away'.¹⁰⁷ Edward did, though, place his own money with the order, as in 1276 he is recorded as withdrawing 1,000 marks from his own deposit.¹⁰⁸ Edward also employed Joseph Chauncy, prior of the Hospitallers, as royal treasurer in the 1270s.¹⁰⁹

In Ireland both major orders were responsible for transmitting money to England, and the Master of the Temple in Ireland occasionally audited the justiciar's and treasurer's accounts in Ireland.¹¹⁰ Stephen of Fulbourn, a Hospitaller sent to Ireland by Queen Eleanor in 1270, collected the Holy Land aid there and returned it to the king in 1273. He oversaw the recovery of the Irish exchequer in the 1270s and 1280s in his role, first as treasurer but then as deputy justiciar and, finally, as justiciar. Men like Stephen were no doubt used because they were more reliable and trustworthy servants than members of the local nobility, though Stephen promoted his own family members to positions of authority in Ireland, furthering his own career until he became archbishop of Tuam in 1285.¹¹¹

The distribution of alms –charity to the poor – was an integral part of medieval Christianity. Doling out charity was a particular function of monastic houses, but noblemen might also dispense alms via an intermediary known as an almoner. Almoners were usually drawn from among the religious, and thus it is no surprise that the Templars fulfilled this role for some of the elite in England. William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, had an almoner who was a Templar, as did Henry II, King John and Henry III. Brother Richard was almoner at the Scottish royal household in 1255.¹¹² Henry III's choice of a Templar almoner might account for his reliance on them in the 1230s.¹¹³ So devoted was he to this order that in 1231 he promised them the burial of both his and the queen's bodies in the New Temple upon their death.¹¹⁴ After the 1250s, however, the Templars were no longer as favoured by Henry III in England or Ireland, perhaps because he had turned his attention to Westminster Abbey and the creation of a cult centre around Edward the Confessor. Helen Nicholson suggests several reasons why the favour shown to the Templars waned while the Hospitallers continued to be given important roles. It may have been part of wider trends, as both military orders declined in royal favour in France after 1223. Their failures in the Holy Land earned them criticism across Europe, and the growing strength and stability of western states meant that they did not need the assistance of the military orders in the way that they had in the twelfth century.

One of the key roles played by the Hospitallers in particular was hospitality, as the order provided accommodation for travellers, pilgrims and the sick across Europe. In many places they also provided some measure of protection. Ysbyty Ifan in north Wales may have been intended to protect people travelling along the treacherous Chester Road.¹¹⁵ Writing in the eighteenth century, the antiquarian Thomas Pennant believed that the aid of the Hospitallers was desperately needed in the parish of Carno, a dependency of Halston, to provide 'asylum and guard for travellers' from the 'den of thieves and murderers, who ravaged the country'.¹¹⁶ The fact that several churches owned by the Hospitallers, such as Llanrhidian Church on the Gower, were built with defence in mind underlines the fact that, although they did not fulfil a military function *per se*, they might be refuges for local people in times of crisis.¹¹⁷

Hospitality was one of the central roles of the Hospitaller order and was a key part of the Rule of St Augustine. This function went back to their origins in the Holy Land, where they provided lodging

for pilgrims. For this reason the Templars, who had a more defensive rather than charitable role, did not offer any notable hospitality.¹¹⁸ They did, however, provide food to travellers and gave food and clothing to the poor. The Rule of the Templars stated that 'any worthy man who comes to the palace when the brothers are eating may be invited to eat; and he may be seated at one of the tables in the palace that befit such a man'. In light of this, at the manor of Lidley half of the estate's income was spent on food bills that helped to feed travellers.¹¹⁹

At the Hospitaller house of Kilmainham in Ireland there was an almshouse and a hospital for the sick, while at Dover the Templar house on the Western Heights provided accommodation for the papal legate, Pandulph, when he came to negotiate with King John.¹²⁰ In Wales hospitality was a particularly prized trait, for which the Welsh were singled out.¹²¹ In Pembrokeshire the Hospitallers at Slebech provided accommodation at a site which Robert son of Lodomer had granted in the mid-twelfth century. Situated on the banks of the Eastern Cleddau, this property has been described variously as a hospice, tithe barn or pilgrim house. Helen Nicholson suggests that the current ruins were once a Sisters' house for the female members of Slebech, the river acting as a division from the main house. The ferry crossing next to the site could have been for the sisters' use or for pilgrims travelling along the traditional route to St Davids.¹²² So popular was the hospitality provided by Slebech that in 1338 the preceptor complained that the crowds of Welshmen who poured in 'from day to day' were putting a strain on his resources, though as hospitality only accounted for £16 of expenditure out of an income of £307, it cannot have been too onerous.¹²³ Provision of hospitality was important in Britain and Ireland (as elsewhere in Europe), as accommodation for groups as diverse as poor pilgrims to bishops and kings was often provided by religious houses, as they were either large enough or charitable enough to house and feed such groups.

The military orders also performed an interesting role as undertakers. When Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex, died in 1144, he was excommunicate, but the Templars threw a cloth bearing their insignia over his body and claimed it for burial in London. In 1276 the Hospitallers buried some thieves hanged at Ilchester, claiming that the order could bury 'those who have given alms to the fraternity whatever may have been the manner of their death'.¹²⁴ Occasionally, the Hospitallers' agents would cut down hung felons before they had

expired, landing themselves in trouble with the authorities.¹²⁵ The reason that the right to bury people was so strongly enforced was that burial would potentially attract the benefaction of the deceased family, as they might pay for masses for the soul of their relative or make a donation to the order.

Although they played a role in assisting the kings of England and Scotland, and provided hospitality and dispensed charity in Britain and Ireland, the primary aim of the military orders in the West was to provide revenue to fund warfare in the East. Properties and rights were farmed or rented or otherwise produced revenue for the orders. Of the Templar land in Wales, 95 per cent was farmed out, perhaps because it yielded much profit from agriculture.¹²⁶ In England more profitable lands meant the Templars hung on to their property. In Gloucestershire they earned money from sheep farming; in Bristol it was trade. Domestic matters could adversely affect income though; during the civil war between Henry III and his barons, the income from Hospitaller property in England was seriously affected, depriving the Hospitallers of the Holy Land of essential finance.¹²⁷

The Hospitallers estates followed a similar pattern, though they earned more from their estates in Wales simply because they had far more of them. The church of Llansteffan alone returned £60 a year by 1338, and Slebech was worth £307 1s. 10½ d. before expenses.¹²⁸ It seems, however, that the house had to pay some sort of protection money in order to safeguard its property, as the 1338 report recorded payments of forty shillings to Stephan Perot and Richard Peres in order to protect the house from 'ambushers and malefactors'.¹²⁹ Relations between the military orders and their neighbours were fraught in other areas. Jealousy of the Templar's farming skills at Lidley (Shropshire) sparked an attack on a consignment of oats on its way to the market at Ludlow in 1274, and in Dublin the Hospitallers of Kilmainham entered into a dispute with the burghers of Dublin after the order blocked the River Liffey by building a mill with a weir and fishpond.¹³⁰

Although the military orders had a military function, it was intended that this would only be exercised in the Holy Land against Christ's enemies. There are, however, examples of Hospitallers and Templars engaging in military activity in Britain and Ireland on behalf of Edward I. In Ireland the prior of the Hospitallers was expected to take military command in times of conflict, which, as far as the records show, he was not expected to do England or Wales. For

this reason, in the 1270s William FitzRoger, prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland, led the king's army against the Irish. In Scotland Edward I included Templars in his army during the wars of 1298–99. Brian de Jay, Master of the Temple, was killed at the Battle of Falkirk.¹³¹

Conclusion

The Templars and Hospitallers were supported from an early date in England due, in large part, to the support of the king and queen. They also attracted early patronage in Scotland from David I, though their estates were never extensive there. In Wales the introduction of the Templars was an Anglo-Norman phenomenon, but they were never popular with the Welsh and had only a few properties, perhaps because of their association with English royal power. Instead, Wales favoured the Hospitallers, with one notable foundation in the south on land donated by a Flemish patron, and one in north Wales from a Welsh donor. In Ireland both orders had to wait for the Anglo-Norman conquest to obtain their new estates, and again they were associated with English power, as a result of which they received very little support from the native Irish. In both Ireland and Wales the military orders were given some of their estates as a way of settling volatile areas, though in Ireland their military role was more explicit and they were expected to fulfil a defensive role. Elsewhere in Britain and Ireland the military orders acted as advisors, bankers and almoners, provided safe storage for jewels, money and other items of value, and fulfilled the role of international bankers, overseeing the transport of money.

Support for the military orders in all areas bar Wales came initially from the Crown and leading nobility, though after the military orders were firmly established smaller gifts were made by people from lower down in the social hierarchy. Some of these estates and privileges were lucrative, and well-administered lands and properties provided a good income, whether from rents, farming or trade. In return, both orders provided services to their surrounding communities, though for the Templars this was limited. For the Hospitallers this involved hospitality and care for the sick, functions that echoed their original founding principles. In these respects the military orders were like other monastic foundations – so much so that people who wished to enter the religious life but had no intention of fighting might join.

For this reason women joined the Hospitallers and received their own foundation at Buckland. Aside from simple piety, such membership, as well as the donation of lands, property and rights, was sometimes driven by a clear desire to help the Holy Land, either in response to a particular crisis or because a family already contributed in some way to the crusading movement. Thus many people who never saw the Holy Land itself or took the Cross contributed to the defence of the Holy Land by supporting the military orders, while in turn military monastic foundations that had their origins in the Latin East became the landlords, farmers, traders, carers, bankers, administrators and representatives of people in Britain and Ireland.

Conclusion

When Matthew Paris was thinning out his *Chronica Majora* in order to produce his *Historia Anglorum*, he made a conscious decision to leave out information that he felt was not relevant to English history. He went through the text of the *Chronica*, highlighting the parts he felt were of no use and commenting that they were 'irrelevant to the history of the English'.¹ This included his information on crusading, most of which did not make it into his shorter work. Crusading was, however, relevant. From the time of the First Crusade, it had an impact on finance in England, as money was raised to pay for the mortgage of Normandy. A few men took part at the same time, many of whom were fleeing domestic problems after a failed rebellion against the king; England itself was still unsettled, so most landowners chose to stay at home. In the twelfth century the number of participants, both male and female, increased. Although civil war under Stephen, whose own father had been on the First Crusade, meant that crusading for most magnates was not practicable at the time of the Second Crusade, those from lower down on the social scale were able to contribute to the conquest of Lisbon, the only success of that particular crusade.

In the following years, crusading as a whole came in for criticism across Europe, but that did not deter the enthusiastic. Henry II took the Cross several times and was supposed to assist the Holy Land as part of his penance for Thomas Becket's murder. He never did, sending only money to the East, but his son Richard I led what was probably England's greatest crusading contingent at the time of the Third Crusade. Richard and his magnates partially funded the crusade with the financial backing of the kingdom, the Saladin Tithe having extracted vast sums of money. What impact this had on those

left behind is open to debate – certainly it was not a popular tax – but they were able to raise vast sums only a few years later to pay for Richard I's release from captivity.

In the thirteenth century both recruitment and funding became more organised thanks, in large part, to the refinement of crusade organisation under Pope Innocent III. Although the interdict and civil war under King John made vow redemption problematic, after his death many magnates were freed to fulfil their promises and they set off for Egypt. The leading nobles of England continued to contribute to the crusades throughout the thirteenth century, but with the exception of the small contribution to the Albigensian crusade, prompted by continental links between England and France, they were reluctant to go anywhere but the East and viewed efforts to direct crusading energy to other theatres of war with some suspicion.² For the same reason, nobles and churchmen were suspicious of the abuse of aids for the Holy Land. Under Henry III, despite the king's own promises to lead a crusade, the nobles' crusading plans were frustrated. This contributed to their overall discontent with Henry III's rule, and it was only after years of baronial rebellion that they were able to go on crusade. This was thanks largely to the enthusiasm of Henry's son and heir, the Lord Edward, who led a contingent on Louis IX's last crusade. He was accompanied by a significant number of nobles, most of whom were loyal royalists, and was funded via taxation which had been raised with the consent of parliament. Despite the warfare of recent years, England was now secure enough for Edward to spend several years abroad, making his way home at a leisurely pace after hearing of the death of the king.

The Scottish contribution was significantly smaller. Financially, the Scots offered less, though requests for financial assistance from England were cleverly manipulated at the time of the Third Crusade to secure Scotland's release from English control in the Quitclaim of Canterbury. Unnamed crusaders took part throughout the crusades, but it was not until the end of the thirteenth century that important magnates could be found in the East, many of them in the service of the Lord Edward. Their participation at this time was no doubt due to better relations between the two kingdoms. Alexander III was married to Henry III's daughter Margaret, and Scotland and England had entered into a peaceful alliance. Many Scots also went on crusade in the service of the French king, perhaps because this avoided the potential problems of serving under an English monarch.

Ireland too played a small role in the crusades. The political situation there after the invasion of 1169 made absenteeism difficult, as there was a need to stay at home and defend lands. Even some settlers found that they could not leave Ireland, as they were hampered by Henry III, who asked the pope to ignore their pleas for help. Although Ireland was included in wider papal attempts at crusade recruitment and the collection of money for the Holy Land, the processes were never as universal as they were in England or in Wales at the time of the organisation of the Third Crusade.

In some respects, Wales had the same problems Ireland did, as native-held lands needed to be protected not only from the Anglo-Norman incomers but also from rival Welsh families. There was, however, a steady stream of crusaders (most of whom were anonymous), and the military prowess of the Welsh was sufficiently famous for them to be sought after as mercenaries and fighters. Thus in 1188 a recruitment tour of Wales and the Welsh March was organised under the archbishop of Canterbury, aimed at recruiting men for the crusader army. There were many other motivations behind the tour, not least the chance to remove potential Welsh troublemakers by encouraging them to go the aid of Jerusalem. It is not clear how many men the tour recruited – Gerald of Wales's total of 3,000 men was probably optimistic, though even if we accept that half that number went, it would have been a sizeable group – but Welshmen appeared in the Latin East at this time. In the thirteenth century there was no such mass participation, but Llywelyn ap Gruffydd probably went as a youth, and efforts were continually made to recruit from Wales.

In the 1280s one last attempt was made to use the crusade to remove a potential troublemaker from Wales. John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury, suggested that Dafydd ap Gruffydd go on crusade at King Edward's expense, but Dafydd saw this as a ploy to remove him from Wales so that the Welsh could be more easily defeated. It was not the first nor last time that crusading was used in domestic conflicts. The language of the Holy War and religious reform was used to justify the conquest of Ireland, and the signs and trappings of a crusade were adopted during the baronial rebellions against King John and Henry III. During the Scottish wars of independence, both sides complaining that the other was preventing crusade participation, depicting them as enemies of the Holy Land. Although no formal crusade was called in England, Scotland, Ireland or Wales, the language and ideas of crusading were still used in domestic warfare.

England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales were affected by the crusade through the sales, mortgages, leases and exchanges of land that funded the crusade, and through the gifts made before and after crusade activity by those who were keen to earn God's protection or give thanks for a safe return. Many religious houses also benefited from gifts bestowed by those wishing to promote the crusade or those who had just returned, as some of the supernatural bounty that flowed from the East to Western Europe found its way to monasteries in Britain and Ireland. The same monasteries also recorded events relating to the crusades in their histories, as did secular churchmen who had been on crusade themselves or who took an interest (whether positive or negative) in the crusade movement. Most of this writing took place in England, though entries in monastic works elsewhere in Britain and Ireland suggest which aspects of the crusades interested those areas and how well informed the monastic houses of Scotland, Ireland and Wales were.

Not everyone benefited from the redistribution of land or from crusading as a whole. Legal disputes often arose over properties that had been mortgaged, sold or leased, particularly when the original owner died in the Holy Land. Death or a long absence overseas also had a negative impact on some women, who found themselves taken advantage of by unscrupulous neighbours and relations – so much so that Henry III made moves to protect them. Jews also fared poorly at times of crusade recruitment and organisation. Their status as enemies of Christianity made them natural targets for enmity at times of heightened religious tension, but there were underlying tensions (notably over debt) which came to the fore and contributed to attacks on the Jews, particularly at the time of the Third Crusade. Interestingly, although there appear to have been a small number of Saracens in England in this period, there is no record that they were subject to assault, though they may have converted to Christianity.

Finally, most parts of Britain and Ireland were touched by the military monastic orders – the Templars, Hospitallers, Knights of St Thomas of Acre and the Leper Knights. The pattern of patronage extended to these orders mirrored that of many of the new orders introduced to Britain and Ireland, as the large grants of the twelfth century gave way to smaller gifts in the thirteenth. Like many orders, they were used to settle newly acquired land, though in Ireland and Scotland they went further than this and sometimes fulfilled a military function too. Some gifts were explicitly linked to the Holy Land, and

supporting the military orders could be seen as an alternative way of helping the Christians in the East.

Men and women who never went to the Holy Land, and perhaps were too poor to contribute to crusade taxation, might interact with the houses of these orders across Britain and Ireland by working as servants, seeking charity in the form of food and lodging, or receiving some other service from the inhabitants of these houses. The military orders interacted with all levels of society, and the Templars and Hospitallers in particular were often close to the kings of England and Scotland. They acted as bankers, advisors, financiers, tax collectors, undertakers, providers of charity and hospitality and envoys for the crown. Despite this, they were not universally popular, and in the thirteenth century they were criticised by writers such as Matthew Paris. At the start of the fourteenth century the Templars were dissolved in Britain and Ireland, as they were across Europe, but the Hospitallers endured until the sixteenth century.

Notes

Introduction

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BRITISH HISTORY IN PERSPECTIVE

General Editor: Jeremy Black

From 1095 to the end of the thirteenth century, the crusades touched the lives of many thousands of British people, even those who were not crusaders themselves. In this introductory survey, Kathryn Hurlock compares and contrasts the crusading experiences of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

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- the impact on domestic life, as shown through literature, religion and taxation
- political uses of the crusades
- the role of the military orders in Britain.

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Kathryn Hurlock is Lecturer in Medieval History at Manchester Metropolitan University. She is the author of *Wales and the Crusades, c. 1095–1291* (2011).

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